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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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TIME TO SHUT UP SHOP

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS JUL 5 1913 PERIODICAL DIVISION

WOMAN OF TO-DAY: "Surely you don't expect me to put up with any of these!"
MRS. HUMPHRY WARD: "I am sorry we have nothing newer. This style of thing gave every satisfaction—fifty years ago."

(According to the "Times," Mrs. Humphry Ward said at the Annual Meeting of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, last week, that "she wished some one would provide them with some new arguments.")

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

This week for the first time the poster of Votes for Women appears in the new and distinctive colours—purple, white, and red. It is our intention in this way to make clear to everyone the catholicity of our paper, which embraces every section of the Suffrage movement in this country and throughout the world.

"To Spread the Light"

In the new design which appears at the head of the poster is the figure of a woman holding a lantern and the words "To spread the light." This motto is the guiding principle actuating the Editors of Votes for Women. In every direction more light is required, for all the ordinary channels of information are blocked up. Politicians and the newspapers vie with one another in suppressing and distorting the news of the Suffrage movement. The great constitutional agitation going on all over the country is completely ignored, a few of the more sensational incidents of the militant agitation are reported, but only in such a way as to prejudice the public against those who take part in them, and finally the great and growing sympathy of the people is denied.

A Stream of Facts

To dispel the ignorance engendered by this consistent misrepresentation a stream of facts is required, and it is this stream of facts which Votes for Women supplies week by week to its readers. We give the reasons why women need the Parliamentary vote, and need it so urgently at the present day. We give some account of the most important happenings of the work of propaganda—we do not give a complete account, for that would require a paper many times the size of Votes for Women. We show up the subterfuges of politicians and give the reasons which underlie the recourse of women to militant and revolutionary action. We give evidence of the growing support of public opinion for the equal position of women in this country, and publish the news received from our special correspondents of the rapid succession of victories which women are winning in all parts of the world.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship

In this work of spreading the light, the Votes for Women Fellowship plays a prominent part; it forms a bond of union between readers and editors and contributors, for there can be no surer means of association than that supplied by common service in a common cause. Every day we receive large numbers of new recruits—men and women—for the Fellowship army, and every new Fellow so enrolled becomes at once a new centre for spreading the light which brings awakening. We give a hearty invitation to all our readers to take this means of putting themselves into permanent touch with the Editors and with one another. Particulars will be found on page 596.

The Suffrage Pilgrimage

The specially prepared map which we publish this week will give our readers an idea of the extent of the campaign which is being carried out by the law-abiding section of Suffragists in different parts of the country. During the next few weeks, along all

the principal roads of the country, the Suffrage "Pilgrims" will march, singing their songs of freedom, halting every now and again in the important towns to hold meetings and to proclaim the Suffrage gospel. In all cases where the date of arrival has been settled, this date appears on the map, so that our readers may know in advance of the coming of the "Pilgrims," and may be able to make suitable preparations for them. Saturday, July 26, will mark the conclusion of the pilgrimage, when all the various streams will meet in one great demonstration in Hyde Park.

The Cat and Mouse Act

A great meeting, in which militant and non-militant Suffragists joined, was held last week in the Dublin Mansion House to protest against the barbarity of the Cat and Mouse Act. Stirring speeches were delivered by men and women, and it is particularly noteworthy that though the meeting was free and open to the public, there was not a single dissentient voice, nor a single dissentient hand, in the whole great concourse against the resolution. In view of this unanimity, will the Government dare to re-arrest the Irish prisoners? We note with disgust that in spite of the protest of the *Nation* and other Liberal organs Miss Lennox has already been taken back to prison in Bristol, and Miss Kenney and Miss Barrett to Holloway. A meeting of protest against the Act is to be held in the Queen's Hall next Tuesday. Our own comment will be found in our leading article this week

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's Bankruptcy Annulled

On Wednesday morning Mr. Pethick Lawrence applied for the annulment of his bankruptcy and the rescission of the receiving order against him. The Official Receiver reported that he had taken into possession and realised sufficient of Mr. Lawrence's assets to pay the creditors in full and all costs of the proceedings; the Registrar granted the annulment and rescission asked for. Mr. Pethick Lawrence has accordingly become once again a free agent in dealing with his own affairs, and he will now have to meet the claims of the recent actions for damages.

"Want of Frankness" in Mr. McKenna

The letter which we publish from Sir Victor Horsley shows up in striking clearness the whole discreditable manœuvre by which Mr. McKenna, worsted in argument by Mr. Mansell Moullin and Sir Victor Horsley, tried in vain to secure a reprobation of their conduct by the Royal College of Surgeons. It brings out the conflict in his statements to which we made incidental reference last week in contrasting statements of successive Home Secretaries with actual facts. For Mr. McKenna, after trying to give the impression on February 28 that Miss Lenton was not forcibly fed and that her illness was due to her hunger strike, had to admit later that she had been forcibly fed, and that the doctor told the Home Office that the "thing" (that is her death) might be a question of minutes.

Leicester and Its Moral

The Leicester by-election has provided conclusive evidence that the Parliamentary Labour Party as at present constituted is not in reality an independent party. For whatever be the outcome of the dispute between Sir Maurice Levy and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, it has been made perfectly clear that the latter did not want a contest in Leicester, because he knows that he and many other Labour M.P.'s hold their seats on Liberal sufferance, and that a disruption from their Liberal allies would mean defeat for themselves at the next election. In these circumstances we are utterly unable to understand how any Suffragists can imagine that they are dealing a blow at the Government when they give support to official Labour candidates.

The Law is a Hass

Women cannot become solicitors until the law is altered. That is the effect of the judgment delivered by Mr. Justice Joyce in the test case just decided in the Courts. The grounds for his decision apparently were that because women never have been solicitors therefore there is a Common Law prohibition against their becoming solicitors. What antediluvian nonsense this is! Compared with it the joy of the early pundits in the year 200,000 B.C. in deciding that men must always live in trees, and never use tools or speak an articulate language, was sound commonsense. Verily, the law is a hass!

Items of Interest

To-night (Friday) at 8 o'clock there is a Re-union of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship at the large Portman Rooms, Baker Street. Admission by ticket only.

In the July number of the *Englishwoman*, Mrs. Acland announces the formation of the "Liberal Women's Suffrage Union," which is an attempt to unite into a union women and bodies of women who wish to be both Liberal and Suffragist. The basis of union is that the members work to secure the adoption of Liberal candidates in favour of Woman Suffrage and undertake "not to work for any Anti-Suffrage Liberal until after the next General Election."

An enthusiastic meeting in favour of free speech was held on Sunday last in Trafalgar Square. At the close of the meeting, following upon a speech by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, a rush was made on Downing Street, and five men were arrested by the police. Brought up next day at the police court, they were sentenced to fine or imprisonment. At least one of the men declined on principle to pay the fine, and went to prison for fourteen days.

The "Men from the North" are organising a deputation to the Prime Minister, to ask him to bring to an end the delay in doing political justice to women. Particulars from Mr. Alexander Orr, Fettes Row, Edinburgh.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship are holding a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, July 13, at 5 o'clock.

Next week we shall return to the subject of the Insurance Act and the charge of "malingering" against married women. We propose to print a second article by Miss Gwynneth Chapman dealing with it.

"DIVERSITIES OF GIFTS BUT THE SAME SPIRIT"

A Conversation with Miss Lena Ashwell

Every playgoer is familiar with that subtle mood of detachment with which Miss Lena Ashwell, in her most emotional parts, allures and interests and puzzles her audiences, a mood which suddenly vanishes when something vital happens, or is said, to set her ablaze. Then the words come hurtling out, in little breathless rushes, and her whole personality is alive, tingling, vibrant. Talking to her last week about the women's fight for freedom, one was greatly interested to find that this capacity for being quickened into sympathy, anger, revolt, all the emotions that really matter, is a quality of Lena Ashwell the woman as much as it is that of the actress, and that it can be evoked to intensity by a sense of the wrongs done to humanity, of the injustices under which women especially suffer. "Pour faire de grandes choses, il faut être passionné," is a saying as true to-day as it was when Saint Simon first uttered it.

"You remember what Carlyle says in 'Sartor Resartus,'" she said—in one of the rushes—"how he wanted to strip the members of the House of Commons of their clothes, all the outward semblances of worldly possessions and worldly power, and get down to essentials? Well, it seems to me that we women in our movement see further than Carlyle; our vision is deeper than his, because we want to get rid of everything in the flesh that hampers the development of the spiritual in us—I don't know if I am making you see what I mean—we want, as it were, to destroy the whole illusion of the body. That, it always appears to me, is what prevents our movement from being a personal thing, and gives it a world-wide appeal: it is a great movement of great forces, in fact, and so it cannot, cannot be stemmed."

"Learning to Visualise Things"

A little later came another rush of words. "Imagination is quite a modern thing, don't you think? Oh, yes; of course, great people have always had imagination—but not the common folk. To-day the growth of imagination is going on in all classes; people are learning to visualise things, and so all sorts of old bad systems have got to go. The penal system, for instance. It was only possible when people had no imagination; it cannot be endured any longer, now that people can visualise it."

Talking of the industrial position of women, Miss Ashwell showed how much this side of the question weighed with her in her attitude towards the woman's movement generally. No one listening to her feeling words on this subject could fail to be reminded of that outburst of hers when she was playing in "Diana of Dobson's," and had to express the sweated shop assistant's anger over her wretched wage—"Five bob a week!"

"Through work people find themselves, don't they? Naturally, the position of all working women matters to me because I'm a working woman myself. People are so unintelligent!"—a flash of scorn came here—"they *won't* realise that these things cut both ways. If you have a great mass of slave-labour—and women's labour under present conditions *is* slave-labour—it is going to hurt the slave-dealer as well as the slave. Why, men in many ways are suffering from dry rot because of it! How can you have a fine race of men when these very men are occupied in making slaves of their women? It can't be done. Look at the Lazy Husband Act in Washington State!" [We gave an account of this Act in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN.] "An Act like that proves what I'm saying; you wouldn't want Acts of that sort if the slavery of women had not paralysed the energies of men."

Born a Suffragist

It seemed absurdly obvious to ask when the expounder of such views as these first became a Suffragist. "Born one!" she retorted with a laugh. "Though I can't say I knew it until about the time the Actresses' Franchise League came into being. Up till 1908 or thereabouts I was occupied in making my own life, and it absorbed me more or less. Militancy? No, I'm not a militant myself. I haven't the temperament for it. But when I am asked, as I was the other day, whether I think militancy has put back the cause, I can only say that all the eloquence of many speakers and all the enthusiasm of a crowded audience at our big Actresses' meeting, the other day, produced about £400, whereas, at the Albert Hall, the militants raised about £15,000 in something like a quarter of an hour. I don't pretend to explain why it is so, but there is the fact, and if anyone else can explain it away, I am quite ready to listen. No, I am certainly not an advocate of militancy, but I do see that it is horribly difficult to view things fairly when we are right in the middle of them. Do I find people discussing Woman Suffrage wherever I go?" She laughed at this question. "*You can't escape it*," she said briefly.

Miss Ashwell was emphatic about the blow dealt at the constitutional side of the movement by the Government's recent prosecutions of such members of the W.S.P.U. staff as Miss Kerr and Miss Lake and Miss Lennox. "Naturally," she went on, "if you take a piece of whalebone and bend it down, it will fly back much farther and with greater force than before. All this coercion is suppressing the constitutional side of the movement; it isn't suppressing the militant movement; it is merely driving that underground. The Government are asking for revolution."

MISS LENA ASHWELL

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Photographer: Lena Connell, 50 Grove End Road, St. John's Wood.)

Although not a militant Suffragist herself, Miss Ashwell fully recognises that it is impossible for all women to work in the same way for their freedom.

"There are so many ways," she pointed out. "For most of us the best way is by argument, by reason, by demonstrating in all sorts of ways that women ought to have the vote, and that they mean to get it. There are some who prefer to reason in public, and others who can only do it in private, and there are some who have to fight; that is their way, though it is not mine." Another flash of a smile illumined her final remark. "Haven't we all diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit?" she asked.

IN MEMORIAM

E. W. D.

They cannot fight—but they can die
For the great Cause they deem so high:
Though scribblers scoff and men deride,
And "Antis," in self-righteous pride,
Thank God they are not even as such
That fain would walk without the crutch
Self-seeking man so gladly lends
To all his parasitic friends.
There yet are men, aye, not a few,
Who give the homage that is due
To her that set her life at nought
If freedom to her sex were brought;
Who think it scorn to play the rôle
Of keeper to their sister's soul.
Let those who will this dead girl call
Unsexed, insensate, criminal:
Far rather would I be of those
Who, in her short life's tragic close,
Can see, beyond the wrongful deed,
A martyr loyal to her creed,
That gladly gave her life in fee
So women should, like men, be free.
"They cannot fight," but they can die
For the great Cause they deem so high!

C. R. HAINES.

NEW BOOKS

COMBINATION AND CONSPIRACY

To all who are interested in social-economic conditions, in institutions affecting the welfare of working men and women, this summary* cannot fail to appeal. It gives a concise, clear, and interesting account of Trade Unionism from its rise in the early thirties down to the present day. There was the Grand National Trades Union, with half a million workers, founded by Robert Owen, a union regarded with suspicion by an enlightened Government, who tried to put it down as a "conspiracy." Further, an envious eye was cast upon the funds of the Union, and the fact that the Government at that period was Whig was, alas, no guarantee of a Liberal policy. They followed the usual attitude of those in power against any extension of the rights of the people. Some agricultural labourers who had joined the Grand Union were actually sentenced to seven years' transportation for "conspiracy," and sent to Botany Bay in 1834! But, as usual in cases of obvious injustice, public opinion rebelled, and after two years the men were recalled. To us, looking back on such events, it seems incredible that no statesman then possessed sufficient insight to gauge the real strength of this working men's movement, still less to understand its real significance. Or rather, it *might* seem incredible, were we not confronted by a similar lack of insight in our own times! The booklet further describes the political bearings of Trade Unions, their various developments, down to the New Unionism and Syndicalism of to-day. A special chapter is devoted to women in Trade Unions. As far back as 1834 we find the "Grand Lodge of Operative Bonnet Makers" and the "Lodge of Female Tailors," but they disappeared, only to be revived in the seventies by Mrs. Emma Paterson, at whose suggestion in 1885 the Trade Union Congress for the first time passed a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage. A list of Unions and addresses, and a bibliography add to the usefulness of this handy little volume.

M. H.

A MAN'S VIEW

This little book† treats of the Women's Movement as the sum of the action of many individual women. The author attempts, by dealing with a few prominent figures, to exhibit the essential nature of women and to show what may be expected from a future in which women will have a larger freedom and enjoy a larger influence. In this he is hardly successful; the sketches given are too slight to enable him to develop his theme at all fully; and in his estimate of English representative women, more especially of Mrs. Pankhurst, he seems unable to grasp the vital quality of their work and lives. But the book is readable and interesting as giving the masculine standpoint.

N.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"My Lady's Book." By Gerald Gould. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Broken Pitchers." By Reginald Wright Kauffman. (London: Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 2s. net.)

"Daughters of Ishmael." By Reginald Wright Kauffman. Ninth edition. (London: Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 2s. net.)

"The Englishwoman." July. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"Filius Nullius." (Nobody's Child.) By Joseph King, M.P. (London: St. Catharine Press. Price 3d.)

"Instruction of the Young in the Law of Sex." By Frances Swiney. (London: League of Isis, 93, Regent Street, W. Price 3d.)

* "Trade Unions." By Joseph Clayton. (The People's Books: T.C. & E.C. Jack. Price 6d.)

† "Women as World-Builders": Studies in Modern Feminism. By Floyd Dell. (Chicago: Forbes and Co. 75 cents.)

Debenham & Freebody's

Commences on Monday, July 7th, **SALE** and continues for Twelve Days Only.

BARGAINS IN ALL DEPARTMENTS

The undermentioned are typical bargains:

New Model Fur Coat (*as sketch*) in natural Musquash. Perfectly matched and worked by our own expert furriers. Exceptional value.
Regular Price - 25 gns.
Sale Price 16½ gns.

Dainty Evening Gown (*as sketch*) in soft Charmeuse, arranged with bodice of chiffon over fine net, skirt slightly draped.

Sale Price 89/6

100 Suits, in various shapes of which sketch is an example. Well cut and tailored. In fashionable tweeds, suitable for early Autumn wear.

Sale Price - 59/6

Race Coat (*as sketch*) made in soft finished satin, perfect shape.

Sale Price - 49/6

Also in soft Corded Silk **69/6.**

Rest Gown (*as sketch*), in fine French figured muslin, quaint lawn fichu, with picot edged frills, put on with beading, finished satin ribbon waistbelt and bows.

Sale Price - - 25/9

Dainty Voile Blouse. A copy of Jeanne Lanvin model, with wide collar and frills, corded and finished with picot edging. In sky, saxe, heliotrope, grey, rose, pink, and white. A typical example of an odd lot of Blouses to be cleared at 5/- each.

Model Shirt Blouse (*as sketch*), an exact copy of a Jeanne Lanvin model, in fine linen, new plain shape, with small collar at back, edged with cambric beading and real Valenciennes lace.

Sale Price - - - 29/6
In crêpe de chine - - **35/9**

500 only **White Hand - Knitted Sports Coats** (*as sketch*), made from best quality wools, very suitable for seaside wear.

Sale Price - 10/6

Table Cloths.

Pure Linen Damask. Perfectly fresh.

Size about	Usual price	Sale price
2 x 2 yards	... 13/6 each	6/9 each
2 x 3 "	... 20/6 "	10/3 "
2 x 4 "	... 27/6 "	13/9 "
2½ x 2½ "	... 20/6 "	10/3 "
2½ x 4 "	... 33/- "	16/6 "
2½ x 2½ "	... 24/- "	12/- "
2½ x 3½ "	... 31/- "	15/6 "
2½ x 4 "	... 35/- "	17/6 "
2½ x 4½ "	... 39/6 "	19/9 "
2½ x 7 "	... 62/- "	31/- "
3 x 3 "	... 36/9 "	18/4½ "

100 Hungarian Overalls (*as sketch*), in white cotton fabric, embroidered in colours, with girdle.

Sale Price - 5/-

Baby's Fine Muslin Frock (*as sketch*), trimmed with good embroidery and Valenciennes lace insertion.

Sale Price - 29/6

ODDMENT COUNTER.

Hundreds of Short Length of Table Damask, Odd Napkins, Huckaback Towels, Glass Cloths, Tea Cloths, Pudding Cloths, Kitchen and Stable Rubbers, Short Lengths of Linen Sheetings and Pillow Linens, Fine Diaper (both Bird-eye & Russia), Odd Dusters, Odd Towels (in some cases only one of each design), Odd Curtain Corners, Travellers' Samples, Odd Pillow Cases, Odd Bolster Cases, &c., will be cleared at EXACTLY HALF THE USUAL PRICES.

Sale Catalogue Post Free.

Table Cloths.

Choice Designs. Wear Guaranteed.

Size about	Usual price	Sale price
2 x 2 yards	... 22/9 each	11/4½ each
2 x 3 "	... 34/4 "	17/1½ "
2 x 4 "	... 45/6 "	22 9 "
2½ x 2½ "	... 34/6 "	17/3 "
2½ x 2½ "	... 36/6 "	18/3 "
2½ x 3 "	... 44/- "	22/- "
2½ x 4 "	... 58/6 "	29/3 "
2½ x 4½ "	... 66/- "	33/- "
2½ x 5 "	... 73/- "	36/6 "
3 x 3 "	... 57/6 "	28/9 "

Wigmore Street and Welbeck Street, London, W.

THE SUFFRAGE PILGRIMS

The numbers of the Suffrage Pilgrims marching upon London are increasing daily. As we go to press those approaching along the old North Road have already reached Wakefield, and have been reinforced by many detachments coming from places lying on either side of the direct route. Those coming along the North-West route have arrived at Ormskirk, and the Welsh Pilgrims, who have planned to join them at Chester on July 5, have already started from Bangor and gone some distance on their way. This combined band will then proceed to Stoke, where it will be joined by the Manchester contingent on July 9, which is due to leave Manchester to-morrow (Saturday) and proceed via Stockport and Macclesfield. Meanwhile the Land's End detachment has reached Teignmouth, and is rapidly increasing in numbers as it goes along.

What the Pilgrimage Means

The Pilgrimage is a demonstration of numbers, of the widespread extent of the movement, above all, of the earnestness of those who are taking part in it. Suffragists have come to London before in their hundreds and their thousands, even in their tens of thousands, till, in 1908, such a crowd was gathered together in Hyde Park as even that historic meeting-place had never witnessed. And London was impressed—more impressed than either politicians or pressmen cared to realise. But this time they are travelling not by train, but on foot; this time it is not London only that is to be considered, but the country districts as well. Every town and district through which the Pilgrims will pass will have made clear to it the numerical strength and the determination and the grit of those who are asking for enfranchisement. They will see, and perhaps they will understand.

Never again, once the vote is won, will resort to such means be necessary; for the tool once won will be always ready to hand. It is much to hope that the sight of the patient marchers will rouse men to a sense of the effort that is being wasted while the knowledge of what has been suffered and is being suffered for the same cause has failed to do so. "Seeing is believing," they say, and perhaps it may even be that the sight of the lesser waste may do what an impersonal knowledge of a far greater waste and greater sacrifice seems powerless to do.

The Pilgrims are meeting with no lack of interest and sympathy. Huge crowds have assembled all along the routes to listen to the message the Pilgrims are carrying, and their reception has been most encouraging, showing that the cause of Women's Suffrage is really gaining ground, despite all that is said to the contrary. As one Pilgrim writes: "The cause is full of liveliness." Good collections are reported, members of the audience sometimes themselves suggesting a collection and giving something as a beginning. The following report from one of the Ambleside Pilgrims shows what kind of a reception the Pilgrims have had in that district:—

"During Monday and Tuesday of this week the pilgrimage reached and passed through our Ambleside district. Three open-air meetings were held, at which collectively fully one thousand persons were present, and this despite most unsettled weather. At Grasmere an old resident declared that it was the finest open-air meeting that had been held there during the last fifty years. At Ambleside we had a large and attentive audience in the middle of the day, and the same evening at Bowness-on-Windermere a big and enthusiastic gathering of 600 to 700 people. At the three meetings only six persons held up their hands in opposition to the resolutions in favour of women's suffrage."

A Welcome Everywhere

In the North-West the Pilgrims have been agreeably surprised by the warmth and friendliness of their reception, and claim that the pilgrimage has already justified itself. This is amply borne out by the *Manchester Guardian*, which says:

"So far the pilgrimage has met with the greatest success; meetings have been held at all the places arranged on the original programme, and the main body of pilgrims, though yet small and only to grow in numbers as they get nearer to London, have had such support from their friends on the route that it has been possible to hold quite a number of informal meetings in the villages and small towns passed during the day. They have been welcomed and conducted from place to place by fresh bands of local supporters, so that there were generally between 30 and 40 in the party whenever it entered a town, among whom four or five have travelled—generally on foot—the whole distance."

"Only to Put Their Case"

Universal interest has been aroused by the marchers. To take a typical instance, on their arrival at Garstang on Saturday afternoon a meeting was held in the Market Hall, and in the words of a local paper, "Most of the people one could see about the village turned up to hear what would be said." Mrs. Frank Marshall, who, as Vice-President of the North-Western Federation, had followed the Pilgrimage from the beginning, told a Press representative that they had an unbroken record of friendliness and goodwill. It had been far better than they expected, as they had only to put their case to find that opposition disappeared. They

had been warned off one or two places, but none of the trouble anticipated (by others) had occurred. Time after time they were asked to stop and hold meetings. Their general experience was that public opinion was with them, and only needed to be made articulate; they were constantly being assured that in the places they passed through no one was against them. They had had an enormous meeting at Carlisle, and at meetings on the route their crowds had sometimes numbered from 1,000 to 3,000. There was no heckling and no opposition, and the reports of unfriendlies were invariably false.

At Preston, where the Pilgrims coming from the North-West arrived on Monday, they were joined by the members from Blackpool and Fylde. They held a crowded meeting, at which the Rev. F. E. Hutchinson, Vicar of Leyland, spoke, urging people to judge the question of Woman's Suffrage on its real merits, and not upon popular excitement only. A resolution in favour of Woman's Suffrage was carried.

Reception at Southport

On arrival at Southport on Tuesday evening, an open-air meeting was held in North Marine Park, at which Mr. F. T. Reynolds, Deputy Mayor of Southport, presided. The meeting was attended by a crowd of holiday-makers, who listened attentively to the arguments of the speakers. Miss Eshrigge, the organiser of the march, stated that she believed people generally agreed with their cause, but mere intellectual assent was not sufficient to bring about the reform.

THE MEN FROM THE NORTH
Appeal from Mr. Laurence Housman

Preparations for the deputation of the men from the North are going on apace. The scheme, to which we alluded briefly last week, is that a certain number of representative men from all the industrial centres of the North should form themselves into a deputation and come to London, on or about July 11, with the object of obtaining an interview with the Prime Minister. While this is their primary object, their secondary aim, as Mr. Laurence Housman points out in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, will be "to demonstrate that they are greatly concerned that political justice to women has been so long delayed."

"We Have Remained Passive"

"In the bulk," continues Mr. Housman, "we have remained passive while women were fighting 'constitutionally,' without having at their command the constitutional weapon of the vote, and then, while refusing to wield that constitutional weapon in their service, we have uttered our condemnation of militancy. Is it not time that so one-sided an invocation of constitutional means should end?"

The letter proceeds to point out that the most effective means of bringing pressure to bear upon those in power is for men to threaten them with the loss of their votes, and it concludes by saying:

"Hitherto we have preferred to use our votes for other ends, and have given the preference because those other ends and causes have had behind them a strong organised body of voters ready in their defence to throw a full voting weight into the scale. Women are now giving up comfort, ease, health, liberty, even life itself, to win from us a like measure of support for their cause; and still, broadly speaking, men who call themselves 'strong suffragists' have not used their votes to turn the scale in the direction of honesty and fair dealing. The reason is that, broadly speaking, our men politicians have made no sacrifice for the women's cause. At once when a man has done so his eyes are opened, and he sees clearly how great this movement is."

All information about the Men's Deputation from the North can be obtained from Mr. Alexander Orr, Fettes Row, Edinburgh.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROTEST OF HECKLING

Miss Beatrice Harraden has sent to the *Daily Chronicle* a strong reply to Mr. William Archer's letter to that paper on the "Failure of Militancy," in which he advocated a return to "constitutional method of agitation," including "heckling interruption at political meetings." In the course of her letter she writes:—

"I cannot resist the opportunity of telling both Mr. Archer and your readers a few facts known to me personally about these heckling interruptions. Scores of women and many men have been most severely and grievously injured in carrying out what Mr. Archer and all of us know to be a perfectly constitutional protest.

"I have seen many of these constitutional interrupters after they have made their protest, or I have been present whilst they were making it. And I frankly say that I should never believe anyone's report of the outrages committed on these interrupters unless I had witnessed the scenes myself. I have seen four or five men set on to one woman and drag her away with incredible violence. I have seen a young man bumped head downwards up a staircase and kicked out. I saw two or three of the women who interrupted Lloyd George at Llanystumdwy. They told me they had their clothes torn in rags, and I saw for myself how their hair had been literally wrenched out by the handful and their wrists bitten. Many interrupters have been permanently disabled from internal injuries.

"This, then, has been the fate of those who have had the pluck to make these constitutional protests. . . . The only results have been broken bodies, atrocious treatment, no redress (except in one or two instances), and silence in the Press. I particularly accentuate that, because if the Press had reported the outrages the public would have learnt. It is, I believe, because the public have been allowed to learn so little of the real facts of this suffrage agitation that things have come to this sorry and deplorable pass."

MR. BIRRELL HECKLED

Everything that Miss Harraden says in her letter about the treatment of those who dare to demand justice for women at Cabinet Ministers' meetings is borne out by the accounts we have received of the way men were handled at Bristol last week when they heckled Mr. Birrell in the Colston Hall. One man, who interrupted the Irish Secretary's speech because he found it impossible to assent to the speaker's assertion that at last Ireland was to enjoy "the beneficent rule of a free and enlightened democracy," was set upon with the utmost violence by the stewards, was knocked down, struck with sticks and umbrellas, and dragged along the floor to the accompaniment of kicks, before being flung out.

Another interrupter, when Mr. Birrell said it was impossible in Ireland to leave out of the Constitution two-thirds of the men, added, "And the women, Mr. Birrell." For this he was not only seized and struck repeatedly, but was thrown down more than one flight of stone steps till he reached a cellar. From this he was dragged up, and then managed to frustrate the stewards' further attempts to throw him down another flight, and was finally ejected without hat, collar, or tie. From the first he was given no opportunity of walking out quietly.

A third man was scarcely allowed to say half a sentence of protest at the Government's treatment of the Suffragettes before he was ejected with equal violence, he threw some handbills among the audience as he was dragged over the back of the seats. Another interrupter fainted outside the hall as the result of the treatment meted out to him; while two women who merely rose and displayed Suffrage flags were thrown out and considerably hurt. And all this because they had the courage to remind a Liberal Cabinet Minister and a Liberal audience of the first principles of Liberalism!

MR. RUFUS ISAACS AT READING

Mr. Rufus Isaacs was also vigorously heckled when speaking to his constituents at Reading on Thursday in last week. One interruption was a simple Anglo-Saxon one. "My friends at Reading," the speaker was saying, "know I have done no wrong."

"You lie!" came the inexorable voice of the Suffragist. "You have tortured English women."

For this he was, like others at the same meeting, violently ejected. But he probably felt it was worth it.

LADY ABERDEEN AND THE SUFFRAGIST

Lady Aberdeen, while on her way to an Insurance Committee meeting in Dublin last week, was addressed by a Suffragist who threw some handbills into her motor-car and uttered a protest against the application of the Cat and Mouse Act to Irishwomen.

MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE'S BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED

On Wednesday last Mr. Pethick Lawrence's bankruptcy came to an end by annulment, and the Receiving Order against him was rescinded. He is, therefore, now once more a free agent in dealing with his affairs.

The application for annulment was made by Mr. Pethick Lawrence in person to Chief Registrar Brougham on the ground that all creditors in the bankruptcy had now been paid in full.

The Official Receiver reported that the only two claims against Mr. Lawrence were those of the Director of Public Prosecutions and the London County Council, both being on behalf of the costs of prosecution of Mr. Lawrence and others in May of last year, which together amounted, with interest, to £821 3s. 4d. He had taken possession and realised sufficient of Mr. Lawrence's assets to meet these claims and pay all the incidental charges of the bankruptcy. The Official Receiver accordingly annulled the bankruptcy and rescinded the Receiving Order as requested by Mr. Lawrence.

History of the Case

The history of this case, which constitutes a record in several particulars in the Bankruptcy Court is as follows: In May of last year Mr. Pethick Lawrence was tried, in conjunction with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst, at the Old Bailey on the charge of conspiracy, and they were found guilty, and in addition to a sentence of imprisonment, an order was made by Mr. Justice Coleridge against Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. Pethick Lawrence to pay the costs of the prosecution.

After five weeks, during the last part of which all the prisoners had adopted the hunger-strike, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had been forcibly fed, all the prisoners were released, and while they were still too ill to attend to any business, the bill of the whole of the prosecution costs, amounting in all to about £1,100, was served on Mr. Lawrence's solicitor. Shortly afterwards Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence left for a holiday in Canada to recruit their health, and while there, execution was levied upon their house at Holmwood.

On their return they found bailiffs in possession, and on October 31 a sale was effected, realising about £300. No further steps of any kind were taken against Mr. Lawrence until March 11 of the present year, when a writ was served upon him by the Director of Public Prosecutions for the balance of the money still unpaid. This was followed by a civil action and judgment against Mr. Lawrence, and on April 16 by a notice of bankruptcy proceedings. A bankruptcy petition was filed on April 26, and the hearing fixed for May 14.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence continued to refuse to pay the money on the ground of the injustice of the law under which the order had been made against him. This law, passed as recently as 1908, empowered a Judge to impose the cost of the prosecution upon a convicted prisoner, but withheld the Judge from allowing a defendant to claim the costs of his defence when he has established his innocence.

Mr. Lawrence contended, firstly, that this law was unjust in itself and ought to be repealed; and secondly, that it ought not to be applied in a political case such as his, when it had not been applied to other cases of successful Government prosecution where ordinary criminals were concerned.

As Mr. Lawrence continued to refuse to pay, the Receiving Order was made against him on May 14, and on June 11 he was adjudicated bankrupt. Meanwhile, in his statement of affairs, he contented himself with indicating a single asset, contending that as this was amply sufficient to meet all claims, it was not necessary for him to give details of his whole estate.

Following upon the adjudication of bankruptcy, the usual notice was given calling upon creditors to send in claims, but no claims of any kind were made with the exception of the two items by the Director of Public Prosecutions and the London County Council, both on behalf of the costs of the prosecution of May of last year. Accordingly, at the expiration of the necessary notice on Saturday last, the Official Receiver was able to intimate that he had sufficient assets in his possession to meet all claims, and by Tuesday night these had both been paid. When, therefore, Mr. Lawrence made application on Wednesday morning there was no objection of any kind made to annulment and rescission.

We believe that this is the first time anyone in Mr. Lawrence's position has faced the Bankruptcy Court in order to make a political protest; that it is the first time a statement of affairs of the kind returned by Mr. Lawrence has been made; and that the proceedings constitute a record for celerity, occupying from adjudication to annulment only twenty-one days.

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE CROWN
An Important Resolution

The following resolution was passed by the Committee of the Actresses' Franchise League at their Statutory Meeting on Tuesday, June 17, and sent to the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary:—

"That we, the representatives of the Actresses' Franchise League, view with grave apprehension the encroachments of the Crown as shown in the recent actions against Suffragist defendants.

"In particular, we consider that to demand, in addition to the punishment of imprisonment, costs from defendants who are convicted for offences committed for unselfish ends in the course of a political agitation is contrary to British principles of justice. We draw attention to the fact that such a judgment was recently so given in spite of the Jury's recommendation to the Judge that, 'taking into consideration the undoubtedly pure motives that underlay the agitation,' the Judge should 'be pleased to exercise the utmost clemency in dealing with the case.'

"We are of opinion that the discretionary power of the Judge ought not in such cases to be exercised against the defendant, and was probably not originally intended to be so exercised. We consider, therefore, the decision to be a dangerous precedent, and one likely to lead to the corrupt prosecution of political opponents.

"Further, we desire to express our great appreciation of Mr. Pethick Lawrence's action in so gallantly fighting against payment of the costs of his trial, as a result of which he was admitted by the Crown to be a political offender."

THE ACT OF 1908

Among other resolutions passed this week in condemnation of the bankruptcy proceedings taken against Mr. Pethick Lawrence has been one that was carried by the Gateshead Labour Representation Committee, protesting "against the law passed in 1908 by which an innocent man cannot recover his costs from the authorities, while a man found guilty can be ordered to pay the costs of the prosecution as well as his own; and demanding the immediate repeal or amendment of this law."

PRESS COMMENTS ON THE HUNGER STRIKE
A SACRED CAUSE

The truth is that there are in this country a certain number of sentimentalists of "advanced" views—a small but extremely noisy band—whose votes the Government is anxious at all costs to retain. As a matter of fact, these voters have already been hopelessly alienated, even by the Government's half and half measure, but Mr. McKenna and his friends are trying to placate them, and it is in this sacred cause that the Cat and Mouse Act has been brought into operation.—**Evening News.**

AN UNEQUAL CONTEST

There are indications that the example set by Suffragettes in the matter of hunger striking . . . is being followed in the case of persons whose offence is presumably the outcome of something other than a desire to call attention to a political grievance. . . . There is consolation to be found in the fact, however—if consolation is necessary—that such individuals are not likely long to maintain the unequal contest. They have not the inspiring conviction that the Suffragettes possess that they are suffering in a good cause, and therefore their fortitude will hardly be long sustained. They in most instances lack physical courage; they certainly lack moral courage; and therefore those people who may be concerned for the maintenance of respect for the law and for the penalties which follow a breach of it need be under no apprehension.—**Evening Telegraph and Post (Dundee).**

ALL THE DIFFERENCE

The difference between the treatment of suffrage prisoners and other criminals who hunger-strike is a psychological one. The moral attitude of resistance to the law has a great deal to do with the power of effectual resistance to food, and although cases have occurred in which ordinary criminals have for a time adopted the hunger-strike, there is no single instance in which it has been maintained with the stubbornness of the suffrage prisoners.—**Daily Mail.**

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

The Record Cards for the coming quarter, July, August, and September, have been sent through the post to every member of the Fellowship. And the cards for the quarter ending in June are coming in every day with their eloquent story of service faithfully done and results successfully achieved. At our Reunion this evening (Friday) we shall be able to report the good progress that has been made since our last gathering on May 7.

During the eight weeks that have elapsed we have added 400 new Fellows to the Membership Roll—that is an average of fifty members a week. This is good. Even better is the fact that the increase has been rising all the time, and during the last two weeks we have had an average of ten new applications for membership every day. These include representatives of all the Suffrage Societies in this country and many from those in different parts of the world.

This constant growth affords evidence that we have set before us in this Fellowship a practical and realisable ideal The task which we have definitely determined to accomplish is the education of the general public through the paper Votes for Women, and the building up in this country and in the whole of the English speaking world of a steady body of opinion, in support of those who are fighting by various methods this great battle of human liberty.

We have great pleasure in handing over to the Fellowship Fund this week a sum of £175, received from Mrs. Reginald Pott. It will be remembered that when the Editors of the paper were away in Canada last year the Government put bailiffs into their house, The Mascot, Holmwood, Surrey, in order to recover by the sale of their furniture and effects the amount of the costs of prosecuting them. At the suggestion of Mrs. Pott, a number of friends of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence very kindly put together a sum of several hundred pounds which they empowered her to employ in purchasing furniture at the sale on October 31, so that it should not fall into the hands of strangers. This money she used in this way, purchasing on behalf of the contributors practically all the furniture of the house, and allowing Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence to continue to have the use of it. But the total purchases fell short of the total collected by about £175, and this balance Mrs. Pott continued to hold in the event of similar proceedings being attempted against Mr. Lawrence at a later date.

In view of the decision of the Government to proceed against Mr. Lawrence by way of banktruptcy for the costs of the prosecution, and in view also of the claims which are being made against him to pay all the damages and costs for which judgment was given in the window-breaking actions of last month, Mrs. Pott consulted the original contributors, and decided to hand over to Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence by cheque the sum of £175.

This sum we are now, in accordance with our intention expressed a few weeks ago in this paper, passing into the Fellowship Fund, where it will appear among the list of contributions next week. We take this opportunity of publicly expressing to all those who have contributed, and especially to Mrs. Reginald Pott herself, our very deep appreciation of the kindly thought which has prompted their action, and we are confident that the money so lovingly subscribed will bear good fruit in spreading the knowledge of the Suffrage Movement, and in hastening the day of the emancipation of women.

At our Re-union to-night (Friday) we shall show our new poster. Our colours lend themselves splendidly to decorative purposes, and the new medallion designed by Miss Underwood, one of our Fellows, will compel the admiration of everybody. Its symbolical figure and its motto, *To Spread the Light*, express our common ideal with regard to our paper. A special effort should be made during the next few weeks to induce newsagents and managers of bookstalls to exhibit this poster.

New badges in the colours, tricolour ribbon for rosettes, will also be on sale at our gathering to-night, and afterwards at 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. And a large supply of the new pamphlet by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, "In Women's Shoes," will be ready, and it is hoped that Fellows will purchase copies by the dozen for sale or distribution amongst their acquaintances and friends.

A goodly supply of Membership Cards will also be in the hall, and Fellows are asked to take them away and get them signed and sent in during the summer.

A collection will be taken at the meeting to pay the expenses of the hiring of the Portman Rooms.

Under the banner of the Votes for Women Fellowship, a meeting will be held in Hyde Park on Sunday, July 13, at 5 o'clock. The speakers will include Mrs. Cather, Mrs. Brailsford, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. We are confident that there will be a great rally of Fellows to the standard, especially in view of the fact that a great deal of quiet propaganda work can be done amongst the crowd and new adherents won for the Fellowship. Every Fellow should bring two cards and a pencil to the park, with the determination to make at least two recruits.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Members have come forward well this week to sell at meetings. Yet another member has volunteered to sell on her way home after long business hours! Will all new sellers when calling at the office at times other than Thursday mornings kindly ask for the log-book and inscribe their names and addresses in it? This is most important!

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To June 28, 1913)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	550	11	7
Mrs. M. Carey	0	2	0
Miss A. Flatman (In memory of Miss Emily Wilding Davison)	0	2	6
Mrs. Humphrey	0	5	0
Miss E. A. F. Macdonald	0	10	0
Miss W. Davies	0	0	8
Miss M. Douglas.....	0	2	6
Miss A. I. Berwick...	0	10	0
Mrs. Baillie Weaver	1	1	0
"Guppy".....	0	2	6
Miss A. A. Whately	0	1	0
A. Oswald Impey Esq.	0	1	0
Mrs. Gibbs	0	5	0
Miss H.M.Carruthers	0	1	6
Miss L. Garrett-Anderson M.D. ...	10	10	0
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Mrs. Leslie	1	1	0
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Miss M. Mally	0	1	0
Mrs. White	0	1	0
Miss I. K. Wrenford	0	2	6
Miss G. Vowles and Miss M. Smith.....	0	2	6
Miss C. E. Strachan	0	2	6
Miss E. Smith.....	0	2	0
Mrs. A. E. Hall	0	10	0
Miss A. Lund	1	0	0
Mrs. C. MacNab.....	0	10	0
Miss I. Green	0	5	0
Mrs. Taylor.....	0	1	0
Miss E. Ganett	0	1	0
Miss E. Fowler	0	2	0
H.H. Princess Sophia Duleep Singh	1	5	0
Mrs. Shilling	0	2	6
Miss M. Steede	0	1	0
Mr. and Mrs. P. Adams	1	1	0
Mrs. Birse.....	0	5	0
Miss A. E. Edwards	0	0	9
Mrs. Cox	0	1	0
Miss I. Murdock.....	0	5	0
Mrs. S. Solomon.....	0	10	0
Miss P. Wilmot	0	1	0
Dr. Murrell	0	10	0
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MEDIÆVAL FEMINISTS

People who think, and they are many, that the woman's movement is a thing of recent growth, should read Miss Alice Kemp-Welch's delightful study of "Six Mediæval Women."* Each of these women of the Middle Ages is, in her own way, a feminist, for each is an individual, refusing to accept the conventional standards imposed upon the women of her time, simply as women and not as human beings. By no means of equal interest, all six women included in this volume are worth reading about, and the beautiful reproductions of old illustrations add enormously to the artistic value of the book. One of the women is a tenth century dramatist, another is an art-patron and philanthropist, a third is a mystic, a fourth is a writer of romances, and so on. But by far the most human, the most modern, and the most attractive to Suffragists—and, we gather from her sympathetic portrayal, the most attractive to the author—is the fifteenth century champion of womanhood, and of militant womanhood, too—Christine de Pisan, Italian by birth and French by adoption.

This wonderful forerunner of the militant Suffragist of to-day was so much in advance of her times that at a period when women were regarded either as temptresses to be shunned or as goddesses to be blindly worshipped, she stood out for the equality of the sexes, and for the higher education of women. She belonged, in fact, to the great company of men and women of all the ages, who have no date and no sex. "Her morale," says one of her biographers, quoted by Miss Kemp-Welch—

"is so pure and so universally human that not only does it remain true to-day, but it will retain imperishable value as long as ever human society is based on a pure and healthy moral foundation."

All her serious work, and she wrote a great deal, was devoted to the furtherance of the two objects that absorbed her, the championship of the cause of womankind, and the amelioration of the terrible condition of her country, France, then distraught by the Hundred Years' War. She bravely attacked the sickly sentiment and the depreciation of woman shown in the "Romaunt of the Rose," the popular romance of the time; and her "Epistre au Dieu d'Amours" is a fine piece of satire on that subject:—

To the charge that books are full of the condemnation of women, she replies with the simple remark that books were not written by women. . . . Is it marvellous, asks Christine, that a woman—"une chose simplète, une ignorante petite femmelette," as she expresses it—should be betrayed by man, when even the great city of Troy was, and when all the books and romances are full of the betrayal of kings and kingdoms? And if a woman is not constant by nature, why should Jean de Meun, in "The Romance of the Rose," devise so many tricks to deceive her, seeing that it is not necessary to make a great assault upon a feeble place? Then she deftly turns the tables on the other sex, reminding each that he is the son of his mother, and that

Se mauvaise est il ne peut valor rien,
Car nul bon fruit de mal arbre ne vient.

Again, in "La Cité des Dames," she makes what is really a Suffrage speech, maintaining that "God created the soul and made it as good in woman as in man, and that it is not the sex but the perfection of virtue that is material," and advocating the education of boys and girls on the same footing. Finally, in despair at the disaster of Agincourt (1415), she retired to the convent at Poissy, and for fourteen years nothing was heard of her. We can imagine with what feelings of thankfulness and pride she heard the news of the glorious advent and career of Joan of Arc, which justified to the full everything she had always said and written about the possibilities of woman. So the last utterance of Christine de Pisan was a passionate song to Joan of Arc, from which we quote the following beautiful verse:—

Mark me this portent!—strange beyond all telling!
How this despoiled kingdom stricken lay
And no man raised his hand to guard his dwelling,
Until a Woman came to show the way,
Until a Woman (since no man dare try)
Rallied the land and back the traitors fly.
Honour to Womankind! It needs must be
That God loves Woman, since He fashioned Thee!

There are many points of interest in this supremely interesting book, more than we have space to touch upon. But we should like to mention one, an early allusion to woman doctors, in Miss Kemp-Welch's study of Marie de France, in which, summarising the lay of "The Two Lovers," she tells of the maiden who induces the knight she loves to go to Salerno, "a school of medicine famous in the Middle Ages," and there to ask of her kinswoman, "who was well-practised in medicine, a draught to give him the needful strength for his task." And the note that accompanies this, telling of the women who practised at Salerno as medical experts in the Middle Ages, is full of importance to those who are engaged to-day in opening gates to the women of the twentieth century.

E. S.

* "Of Six Mediæval Women." By Alice Kemp-Welch. (Macmillan and Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

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FRIDAY, JULY 4, 1913.

THIS MUST END

Last Saturday Miss Lennox was re-arrested at Shirehampton, Bristol, and taken back to Horfield Prison, from which she had been released on licence after hunger striking. Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Barrett were rearrested on Wednesday and taken to Holloway. Meanwhile, Mrs. Pankhurst, after her third release, lies dangerously ill in London, continuously watched by police with a view to re-arrest if she shows signs of sufficient recovery. Miss Scott is being slowly nursed back to health in Scotland after her second release. Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Lake, Mr. Clayton, Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Ryan, and Miss Walsh are all awaiting re-arrest after their first release; while Mr. Hugh Franklin, Miss Lenton, and five other women have so far successfully eluded recapture by the police.

If this dreadful condition of affairs be allowed to proceed much longer in its present course catastrophe is certain. And catastrophe will be but the prelude to further catastrophe, till the whole ghastly tragedy be enacted and the history of the enfranchisement of women be written in human blood.

This dénouement was not necessary at the beginning, has never at any time in the course of the struggle become necessary, and is not necessary to-day. It can be averted without the least difficulty if only a few men and women in high places have the courage to declare and to enforce their declaration that *these things shall not be.* It can be averted if the mass of the general public, in default of wise counsel by their rulers, rise up and insist that an end shall be put to the present position. It will not be averted if our rulers and the public allow the ship of State to drift nearer and ever nearer to the perilous rocks which we and they cannot fail to see ahead.

Probably every thinking Liberal knows to-day that his leader and his party made a colossal blunder in the early stages of the present Woman Suffrage agitation, when they refused to turn a friendly ear to the demand of the women of the country for self-government, and chose instead to treat the movement with flippant contumely and neglect. Probably every Liberal who knows the true facts deplores the decisions of the Cabinet, which resulted in beating back by police hundreds of honourable women who had come in peaceful deputation to the Prime Minister, and in having them arrested and imprisoned for considerable terms as common criminals. Probably every Liberal who values the reputation of his party for good faith is humiliated when he recollects how a sacred pledge was given by the Cabinet for fair play for the Conciliation Bill, how this Bill was then "torpedoed" by responsible Ministers, and there was established in its place a later promise which proved, as women had foreseen, incapable of fulfilment.

But these very men who see the blunders of the past do not see the far more serious blunder, the appalling crime, which their Government are making to-day. They allow themselves to be blinded by the false idea that it is impossible to retrieve mistakes, that once committed to an evil course is always to be so committed. This is a doctrine of little minds and little men. It has been eschewed by all those whose grandeur illumines the pages of history. Great men have always dared to go back on their mistakes, to recant their errors, to follow a wiser and a nobler path in the future than in the past. And if the Liberal Party of to-day would be thought wise and great in the years that are to come it must not be afraid to do likewise.

"What then," say its exponents, "would you have us do?" We answer, "Recognise facts. Recognise that the alert womanhood of the country demands enfranchisement. Recognise that the bulk of the electorate are willing to concede the principle that sex should not be a barrier to prevent duly qualified women from voting. Embody this in a Bill and prevail upon your leaders to carry it into law without any delay whatever."

"But what about arson," they say, "and all the other terrible crimes which these revolutionaries are committing, are we to allow them to go on with impunity?" We answer, "Your first business is to do justice yourselves. You are law-makers; if you do not do your own duty you are not fit to judge others. If when you have proved yourselves to be just, crime continues, you will then be in a position to see it clearly, to condemn it, and, if need be, to punish it."

"But what about those already convicted, does not justice demand that their sentences be rigorously served, that their rebellious and criminal spirit be crushed?" "Have they not suffered," we answer, "already more than enough? Is it a little thing that their health is shattered, their bodies brought down to the verge of the grave?" Their spirit you cannot crush, for whether you approve or condone or detest their actions, you cannot fail to recognise the kinship of their spirit to that of all of those who in the past for great and noble ideas have fought and suffered and died.

WHAT THE WOMEN OF CALIFORNIA HAVE DONE WITH THE VOTE

By Ethel Mowbray Dolsen

If women are given the right to vote, will it result in good or evil to the commonwealth? That is the question asked wherever equal suffrage is being demanded. We who advocate the enfranchisement of women believe, of course, that its effect will be to bring the nation that grants it to a higher plane of living. Although we do not rest our claim for political equality on these grounds alone, but upon the basic principle that women as human beings should have a part in the making of the laws that govern them, still, it is of great importance to be able to prove by facts that they will use the ballot for the public good.

As an example, the record of the women citizens of the State of California, U.S.A., is worth considering. In the year and a half of their enfranchisement they have initiated and put their power behind an amazing number of Reform Bills that have been passed by the legislature and become laws of the State, while in the local politics of cities and towns they have proved a purifying influence.

A summary of the laws passed at the last session of the State Legislature, which adjourned May 10 this year, shows that women were largely responsible for the enactment of the following:—

(1) A law making the mother co-guardian with the father, a measure ineffectually advocated for years previous to the enfranchisement of the women of the State.

(2) A law abolishing segregated vice districts by making the owners of houses of prostitution liable to heavy fine and imprisonment.

(3) A law requiring of every man applying for a marriage licence a certificate of health signed by a registered physician. (As originally drawn, this Bill provided for the physical examination of women also, but the members of the Legislature, all men, voted to exempt them.)

(4) A law authorizing the Governor of California to appoint a Commission to fix the minimum wage of women wage-earners, and a mothers' pension Commission to investigate the cases of needy mothers and to furnish these with financial assistance from a fund for which an appropriation was granted.

There was also a Bill put through providing for the revision of laws applying to the Juvenile Court, effecting much needed reform in the conduct of the cases of dependent and delinquent children. (The Juvenile Court owes its existence almost entirely to the women of the State.)

Another ameliorative measure adopted, from which a large number of women will receive benefit, was the amendment to the women's eight-hour law to include student nurses in hospitals. This means that the young women training for the profession of nursing will be required to give but eight hours' service daily, instead of from sixteen to twenty as heretofore.

A law had to be broken to get these laws passed, that is the law against lobbying—attempting to coerce or influence legislators. Not having any members of their sex in the Legislature, the women, no doubt, reasoned that they were justified in persuading the Senators and Assemblymen to vote for the Bills they wanted passed. All through the legislative session there was a "third house" at Sacramento, the State capital, and this was the house of the women voters. It did not hold meetings, it had no official recognition, nor was it even organised; still, as a body, it commanded the very respectful attention of the legislators, representing as it did the intelligent women of the State.

These women lobbyists frankly employed every ethical means to influence the law-makers, and only once during the session was there an official reminder that a rule was being violated. This came as a rebuke from the Speaker in the Assembly House following a protest from a member against the activity of a woman who was carrying on her campaign on the floor of the House.

The City of San Francisco, grown callous with years of municipal corruption, perhaps furnishes the most striking proof of what has been accomplished by the women voters in their crusade against entrenched evil. There they succeeded in defeating the re-election of a State Senator who owed a long period of office-holding to nefarious political influence. There they re-elected to the office of Judge of the Supreme Court a man of sterling worth, and there they succeeded in recalling from office one whose record showed him unfit to sit on the Bench.

Only those familiar with the "ring" politics of American cities can appreciate what has been accomplished by the women of San Francisco in these instances. They pitted their desire for public righteousness against the sinister power of a strong organisation that had in its control the entire machinery of city government. They won by sheer grit and perseverance.

The Senator who was defeated came from a "machine" district, where it was said he never could be beaten—until the women went to work. At this election, which was in 1912, there were a Progressive and a Democrat nominated to run against him. The Progressive lost, leaving only the Democrat in the field. Most of the women in this district were Progressives, but they forgot party affiliations in their desire to elect a good man, and they made a victorious campaign for the Democrat.

Hard fighting was done by the women to re-elect the judge. Opposed to them in this was all the power of corporate influence. The bitter opposition to this man was the outgrowth of the notorious "graft" prosecution of a few years ago, which laid bare the system of bribery by which certain public officials had made capital out of their positions. It was because of the uncompromising attitude of this judge, in whose court the trial took place, that his removal was desired by the unscrupulous.

In recalling the other judge, the most difficult task of all was undertaken. In the beginning of the campaign, which was started by a very small group of women, enough jeering was encountered to discourage any but the most determined spirits. It was an unpleasant task. Here was a judge who had formed the habit of placing bail so low in cases of assault on young girls that many offenders had been permitted to escape trial. It was the discovery of one particularly flagrant case of this sort that aroused the women to action, and the recall was invoked successfully, and he was removed from office. To accomplish this end required a great deal of effort. Volunteers had to be secured to circulate the petitions, which the law states, must be signed by a certain percentage of *bonâ fide* voters. Women, with some men helping, trudged from house to house and stood on street corners and in front of churches, with the petitions in their hands, and finally the required number of names were secured. Then they found a young attorney with satisfactory qualifications and made him their candidate. A sizzling campaign was then opened. Mass meetings were held, pamphlets were printed and circulated, and during the last week speakers held forth from motor-cars on the main streets. The recall candidate was elected by a majority of a few hundred.

At the present time plans are afoot to organize the women of the State into a non-partisan alliance for the purpose of furthering every movement that promises to better the condition of the citizens of California. While this is developing, the work of promoting local reforms is not being allowed to flag in the towns. All that has been accomplished so far, the women claim, is but a carrying out of the pledge they made to the men of California when they asked for the right to vote, that they would help in the State's housekeeping.

One significant fact about the new women voters of California is that very few have shown any desire to hold office. The general tendency manifested so far is rather toward supporting the men and the measures that represent their ideals.

OH, RICHARD!

By G. Colmore

"It serves them right."

"Have you no chivalry?"

"Chivalry is dead."

"Or never was alive."

"It *was*. But it has been killed by the women, who literally invite brutality."

"Not at all, I suppose, by the men who accept the invitation?"

"Hooligans——"

"Of all classes, including the men who allow these things, who look on."

"I have no objection to including them. They wouldn't look on or allow it if they didn't feel that every woman of the lot deserves what she gets."

"Deserves! Oh, Richard——"

"Deserves, I say——"

"If it were even true, which it isn't; but if it were even true what you say, that women deserve the treatment meted out to them by the men of the twentieth century, what would happen to those same men if to them were meted out what they deserve at the hands of women?"

"I don't understand you."

"I suppose not. I'll help you. What do *you* deserve?"

"I?"

"Ask yourself. Have you ever degraded or helped to degrade a woman?"

"For shame, Ethel!"

"Dare you not answer?"

"I decline to discuss with you topics that no—no—no——. I thought at least—though you have taken to championing those abominable women—I thought at least you were modest."

"And you say that I am not?"

"I say that the girl I am to marry must preserve a certain decorum."

"There is only one way to ensure that—you must choose a girl who takes her ideas of decorum from you. *I* don't."

"Ethel——"

"*I* won't, now that I know what they are. So good-bye!"

"Of course, if that's how you take it——"

"There's no other way I could take it."

"I'd better go, then?"

"Please."

She went upstairs when he had gone and put on her hat. Her face was very red, her heart was very defiant. She did not like going to the Park alone, but she was determined to go. She had meant originally to ask Richard to go with her, but she would not be kept away from the meeting by the fact that never any more would he go with her anywhere.

Richard meanwhile was telling himself that he was a fool ever to get engaged to a girl who sided with the Suffragettes. How he could have imagined for a moment that she was the ideal woman—— Why, she was miles and miles away from the ideal woman. A girl who—who—who—— Oh, no!

* * * * * * * *

It was a horrid crowd. The rough, obscene youths on its outskirts were making the utmost of the licence allowed them by the authorities. Helped by some grown-up men, working men. Ethel managed to push her way within; she knew that she was safer inside the circle than on its edge, and she knew that the working man's cap covered more helpfulness than the tall hat or the policeman's helmet.

A woman she knew was speaking, a woman she admired and reverenced. She spoke with all the fluency, the aptness of retort, the raciness, the good humour that the Suffragettes have made their own. The crowd was disposed to listen, inclined, as she went on, to be interested. But to listen was not easy; for there were some who chaffed, some who hurled insults, while all the time gangs of hooligans shouted and sang. And still she went on, till her pluck and her speaking won her ever more sympathy.

Then came a surging of the crowd, and then a band of police; the meeting was to be broken up. Through the swaying throng they led her, from the place where each minute she was safer, out to the edge of the crowd. She was pale now; Ethel, pressing as close as she could, saw that her eyes were tired. And then there was louder shouting, of rage and mockery, and a great swaying and a rush. Ethel, hemmed in, saw that the woman was in the midst of the hooligans, buffeted, her hat torn off, mauled; saw that the police had melted away; saw that law had yielded to disorder.

Then Ethel heard a voice yell out, a mighty voice, not far from where she stood: "The curs!" and saw a man leap to the woman's side. A tall hat this man wore, the man who was there first, the man who, helped by a dozen more, drove off the yelling youths, and led the woman to where, free of the crowd now, a little apart, was another woman.

This other woman raised her eyes to the man's face, and all she said was: "Oh, Richard!"

* * * * * * * *

"I'm not so bad after all, then?"

The ideal woman should have answered: "Oh, I beg your pardon! Can you forgive me?" but this woman's answer was: "Not when you give yourself a chance."

Somehow he didn't think of that ideal woman when this actual woman spoke.

"I had no idea"—he stammered, half-ashamed of the worst in him and half-ashamed of the best—"no idea that—she *had* pluck—and *they were* brutes——"

"But she deserved all she got, you know."

"Well, I—of course—I don't mean to say——"

She smiled, shaking her head and an uplifted finger. "Oh, Richard!"

INTERMITTENT TORTURE OF SUFFRAGISTS

Irish Protest Against Cat and Mouse Act—Questions in the House

The application of the Cat and Mouse Act to the three Irish Suffragists who were convicted of window-breaking on May 26, and, after a five days' hunger-strike for political status in prison, were released on licence under the Act, has raised a storm of indignation in Ireland which culminated in a great protest meeting in the Mansion House, Dublin, last Saturday. Admission was free, which lent all the more weight to the fact that the Act was denounced without one dissentient voice, by a meeting so crowded that many people were standing, and so representative that the speakers, who were drawn both from militant and non-militant sections of Suffragists, included doctors, professors, writers, Labour men, while the audience consisted of people from every class, a striking feature being the large number of working-men present. As the *Manchester Guardian* puts it: "There was not a trace of opposition."

THE RESOLUTION

The resolution, passed unanimously, ran as follows:—

"That this meeting of Dublin citizens regards the 'Cat and Mouse' Act as a dangerous weapon of political oppression in the hands of any Government, declares that the Act has been shown to be useless for its avowed purpose—the suppression of Suffragist militancy—and therefore demands its immediate repeal. That this meeting condemns in particular the employment of the Act in Ireland against three Irish women imprisoned for a political protest, declares that these women have already been sufficiently punished for their offence, and calls upon the Irish Executive, in view of the grave consequences to health which may follow their further imprisonment, to remit the remainder of their sentence without delay."

THE SPEECHES

Miss S. C. Harrison, T.C., who presided, said the subject was even more important than the vote. To condone persecution for political views would lay the axe at the root of the tree of popular liberty.

Professor T. M. Kettle

Professor T. M. Kettle, ex-M.P., in moving the resolution, said that whether they believed in votes for women or not, they all believed in treating politics as politics, and not as crime. They came to protest, in the name of the citizens of the capital of Ireland, against the degradation of political prisoners to a level lower than that of mercenary and professional criminals.

Although not approving himself of the later forms of militancy, he was not going to say that it had put back the clock or delayed the movement for half a century, because it had not.

"In Terms of Liberalism"

Any man of sense or courage must admit that they were face to face with an intolerable situation. Facing that situation in terms of Liberalism, he must say that force was no remedy for a situation only to be solved in terms of justice. The devotion of women, who had been ready to sacrifice their liberty, their health, and, as a recent incident had shown, their lives (in a line of action which he thought mistaken, but which they thought necessary), had created that intolerable situation. The Cat and Mouse was introduced because the Government could not face the stain of letting the women die in prison. That meant that, in the general sense of the community, they were political prisoners fighting for a political cause, and even their opponents had a sneaking notion that they were right.

Professor Kettle then referred to the Bill for imposing indeterminate sentences on prisoners, which he and Mr. Dillon had opposed in Parliament, and recalled the eloquent accents of Mr. Dillon in opposing that Act, when, speaking as an old prisoner, he declared that the one thing that made prison possible to endure was the prospect of definite release. The present administration had not the courage to kill Mrs. Pankhurst, but hoped that she would die somewhere very near it.

After submitting to some interruption while he criticised the Suffragists' policy regarding the Home Rule Bill (there were loud cries of "You're not a woman," "That's not the woman's view"), Professor Kettle went on to say that no phase of the Nationalist movement could have prospered without the help of women. From the Siege of Limerick to the Ladies' Land League—from 1913 back to the beginnings of the movement—they could never have held together the forces of Ireland without the aid of the women of Ireland.

See-Saw Between Prison and Home

He understood that Mrs. Palmer was to see-saw between prison and her own house because she broke the fanlight of the U.I.L. offices. He was a member of the Executive of the U.I.L.—one of those who bought the new fanlight—and he wanted to say that Mrs. Palmer was free to break that fanlight as often as she thought it would forward her cause. He appealed seriously and solemnly to his old colleagues in the Irish Party to agree that, in allowing this Cat and Mouse Act to be put in force in Ireland, they were compromising the cause of political freedom. In freeing a nation, they must respect and safeguard the freedom of the individual citizen.

"The Sum of Spiritual Death"

Miss Louie Bennett seconded the resolution on behalf of the Irishwomen's Reform League, the Munster Women's Franchise League, the Northern Committee of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, and the Sligo and Armagh Suffrage Societies—all affiliated in the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation. She was personally an anti-militant, but there were moments when non-militants must join their sisters in protest against some cruelty and injustice. Such a moment was afforded by the Cat and Mouse Act. In addition to the obvious objections to it, she gave another, saying that the Act added appallingly to the sum of spiritual death in the world; it increased bitterness, resentment, vindictiveness; it destroyed the fruits of the spirit in those who inflicted it, suffered it, or witnessed it. Against that they were all morally bound to protest. It was still more revolting to the conscience of the people than forcible feeding, which had had to be stopped because the public conscience would not allow it.

A Woman Doctor's Opinion

Dr. Kathleen Lynn, F.R.C.S.I., described the effects of the Cat and Mouse procedure as she had seen it at work in the case of Miss Gladys Evans last year. In every-day surroundings, mere abstinence from food might not have any ill-effects; but it was altogether different in prison; and when repeated uptil death ensued or the authorities got tired, it was a refinement of cruelty such as, ten years ago, we should have said was unthinkable in the twentieth century. In the cases of Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Ryan, and Miss Walsh, now under her care, she found precisely the same symptoms as in the case of Miss Evans—the rash, the anæmia, the prostration; aggravated in Mrs. Ryan's case by considerable weakness of the heart. Were they going to allow these women to be tortured as Gladys Evans had been tortured? (Cries of "No.")

A Dramatist's View

Mr. Padraic Colum said the Cat and Mouse Act was not very far in advance of the eighteenth century method of dealing with rebels. He recalled how, when Mr. Dillon was in prison, and Mr. Balfour had said to Mr. Wilfrid Blunt at a private house, "I'm sorry for Dillon, because he's going to die; he's a delicate man, and prison will kill him," the storm of indignation roused when Mr. Blunt published this was such that Mr. Dillon had to be released. What would have been said if, after his release, Mr. Dillon had been arrested again? Would Ireland have stood it? Would any Government have dared to try it? This Cat and Mouse Act had been invented in England; they must protest against any attempt to impose it on Ireland. The first case on record of the Cat and Mouse procedure was when the English employed it against St. Joan of Arc—bringing her to the verge of the scaffold, letting her go, then tempting her to assume man's clothes again, re-arresting and burning her.

Professor Oldham said he objected to this Act, above all, because of the improper power it gave to executive officers. Two fundamental rights were that liberty should not be curtailed except by proper judicial sentence, and that that sentence should be certain. Both these fundamental rights were taken away by this Act. The Secretary of State should have no power to interfere with a judicial sentence except by way of mercy; it was most dangerous to give him any right to prolong it.

"Militancy No Slur"

He was not prepared to give a certificate of approval to everything that had been done in the name of militancy; but recent history had taught Ireland that it was impossible to get justice from Englishmen without violence. If Ireland, with representation in Parliament, was forced into that position, women were still more forced into it. The Englishman could never see justice until one took violent action in politics, which was called militancy. The Act was useless; people who had the pluck to go to gaol, the strength of character to hunger-strike, were people whose spirit could never be broken down by any Cat and Mouse Act. What were they to put in its place? Were they to let these prisoners out? He said Yes. If they carried the hunger-strike to a degree that risked life, they had added substantially to the burden of their sentence, and society would suffer nothing by letting them out. The final solution, and the only one that would settle the question outright, was to grant women's claim for the franchise. (Great applause.) He admired, beyond any persons now in public life, these women of superb public spirit who were fighting for humanity and not for themselves.

Mrs. H. M. Baker (Irish Women's Suffrage League) said that these women did not hunger-strike to get out of prison, but through courage and loyalty to other women who should come after them. There was nothing for the women to do but to die if this Act were not repealed; to live would be to act as cowards towards other women.

A Labour Councillor's Protest

Councillor T. Lawler (Dublin Labour Party) said the Act might be used against anyone who had a tendency to revolt against present social conditions. They would shame the name of their nation if they failed to protest against the continuance of this Act. They must not rest until it was repealed.

Miss Mary Hayden, Senator of the National University, hoped the Irish party, without compromising their opinions on women's suffrage, would at least join in this protest and so prevent an additional legacy of bitterness being handed on to the Home Rule Parliament. The Act was a spiteful, weak piece of legislation, introduced by people who felt that they were not in the right, and that the public knew it.

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, M.A.

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, M.A. (Irish Women's Franchise League), in a very able speech, showed that the only precedent in Ireland for the Act was the half-hanging of rebels in '98, who were strung up, let down to recover, and strung up again repeatedly. After two months' operation, the Cat and Mouse Act was in a state of senile decay. The magistrate who had sentenced Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Ryan and Miss Walsh, had dismissed the case of Miss Gladys Evans when she came before him after her second hunger-strike, because, he said, she had inflicted on herself a more severe punishment than the most cruel law could inflict. The licence of the present sufferers would expire next Wednesday. They did not intend to go back. (Applause.)

"Proud to be a Woman"

Countess Markievicz said she was proud to be a woman. How many men would face death for any cause on God's earth? Ireland was always a nation of martyrs and heroes, and she was glad to see that the spirit of martyrdom was not dead in Ireland. The death these women were facing when they entered on the hunger-strike was far more difficult to face than a death on the scaffold in the full glare of the limelight.

Mr. W. M. Forsyth, U.D.C., Pembroke, said if the women were released on grounds of health their sentences ought to be remitted. This was done even in the case of criminals, and these women were not considered criminals by the magistrate, or he would not have considered that their case could be met by a fine of twenty shillings.

Mr. Hubert O'Connor, B.L., speaking as an Independent Nationalist, said that his was the only Irish party in the House of Commons that had voted consistently for the women. He was not hopeful about the Home Rule Bill passing; if it did not, Irish Nationalists might have to adopt militancy. How would they like to have the Cat and Mouse Act applied to them?

Putting the Resolution

The chairman, putting the resolution, said the Irish had learnt in a bitter school to appreciate the necessity of political protest, and she hoped the honour would rest with Ireland to protest unanimously, Nationalist and Unionist alike, against this Act.

The resolution was carried unanimously and with acclamation, and a memorial, in the terms of the resolution, was widely signed in the hall. There was a unanimous vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor for allowing the use of the Mansion House.

From George Birmingham

Among letters from notable people protesting against the Act, which were read at the meeting, was one from the Rev. James Hannay ("George A. Birmingham"), who wrote:—"The Cat and Mouse Act strikes me as cruel, and cruelty is, as we know, the last resort of feeble men in a panic."

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE
June 26

In answer to questions by Mr. Jowett and Mr. Wedgwood in the House of Commons last Friday, Mr. McKenna said that the "other circumstances" to which he had referred in a previous answer (see last week's Votes for Women) as preventing the re-arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst applied equally to the other Suffragist prisoners. Mr. Jowett asked further if the Home Secretary was aware that Mrs. Pankhurst was in a serious state of health owing to the treatment that she had received; and whether the Government was prepared to face her death should this treatment be continued.

Mr. McKenna: I have no exact information as to Mrs. Pankhurst's present state of health; but, if it be serious, this is certainly not owing to her treatment in prison by the officials, from whom she received every possible care and consideration. The prison authorities supplied her with food, and did all they could to induce her to take it, and she alone is responsible for the consequences of her persistent refusal to take the food necessary for health.

Mr. Jowett asked (1) whether the suffragist prisoners, sentenced at the Old Bailey on Wednesday last, are in Holloway Prison, or whether they have been sent to other prisons; and (2) whether the suffragist prisoners, sentenced at the Old Bailey on Wednesday last, are being accorded the same treatment as accorded to other prisoners in the third division?

Mr. McKenna: These prisoners have all been released under the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act.

Mr. Jowett: They will be treated in exactly the same way as Mrs. Pankhurst?

Mr. McKenna: Yes. When their licence expires, if they are in a fit state to go to prison, they will be brought back to prison.

THE ACT AT WORK

As we went to press on Wednesday afternoon we learned that Miss Kenney and Miss Barrett, on going out for a drive were re-arrested and taken to Holloway. Miss Lennox was re-arrested last Sunday at Bristol. All three were in a very weak state of health. Mrs. Pankhurst went for a drive last Tuesday; she is still in a seriously weak condition, as are also Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Lake, and Mr. Clayton. Mrs. Gertrude E. Shaw was released on an eight days' licence last Friday. We give below a full list of the sufferers under this infamous Act.

SUFFRAGISTS UNDER THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

Name.	Sentenced.	Released.	Re-arrested.
Mrs. Pankhurst	April 3	(1) April 12	May 26
		(2) May 30	June 14
		(3) June 16	—
Miss Kenney	June 17	June 21	July 2
Miss Kerr	"	June 25	—
Mrs. Sanders	"	June 23	—
Miss Barrett	"	June 21	July 2
Miss Lake	"	"	—
Miss Lennox	"	"	June 29
Mr. Clayton	"	June 23	—
Mrs. Shaw	June 21	June 27	—
Mrs. Palmer (Irish)	May 26	June 18	—
Mrs. Ryan "	"	"	—
Miss Walsh "	"	"	—
Miss Thomson (Scotch)	May 19	May 23	Missing
Miss A. Scott "	"	(1) May 24	June 12
		(2) June 16	—
Miss Hudson "	"	May 25	Missing
Mr. Franklin	March 8	April 28	"
Miss Stevenson	March 5	April 29	"
Miss Brady	April 5	"	"
Miss Dean	"	"	"
Miss Lenton	Com. for trial, June 9.	June 17	"

WOMEN'S CLAIM TO BE SOLICITORS

Women have for some time been desirous of obtaining admission to the legal profession, and among Suffragists at least there has been a widespread feeling that not only is there no reason for their exclusion, but, on the contrary, many reasons for their admission. As an article in a recent issue of this paper expressed it (that of May 23), "it is neither just nor economically sound that women should be denied this outlet for their talents and energies. Why should a woman who is capable of passing all the tests imposed on men be excluded on the ground merely that she is a woman?"

But the opposition in the legal profession itself is great, and as far as the Bar is concerned, where the Benchers of the several Inns of Court have almost autocratic control over the admission of students, the obstacles are too great to be surmounted, except by Act of Parliament, of which there is at present but little hope.

Bebb v. The Law Society

The right of women to be admitted to the solicitors' branch of the legal profession is the question raised by the action of Bebb v. the Law Society, which came up for first hearing before Mr. Justice Joyce on Tuesday. This action arises out of the refusal of the Law Society in December last to admit women to their Preliminary Examination. The four women who then made application were:—

Miss Gwyneth Marjorie Bebb, formerly of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, who took a first class in law.

Miss Karin Costello, late of Newnham College, Cambridge, who took a first class in the Moral Science tripos.

Miss Maud Isabel Ingram, late of Girton College, Cambridge, who took honours in the History and Law triposes.

Miss Lucy Frances Nettlefold, who is

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MISS COSTELLO

still at Newnham College, and has taken a first class in the first part of the Law tripos.

They at once sued out writs against the Law Society, and the above case has now been brought as a test action to decide the legality of the Law Society's refusal.

Counsel for the plaintiff are Mr. Buckmaster, K.C., and Mr. R. A. Wright, and Counsel for the defendants Mr. Hughes, K.C., and Mr. Tomlin. Mr. Buckmaster, in opening the case, stated that the plaintiff is suing the Incorporated Law Society for a declaration that she is a "person" within the meaning of the Solicitors Act (1843), and, therefore, entitled to be admitted to the Preliminary Examination for solicitors, and that she further sues for an injunction against the Law Society to admit her.

Mr. Buckmaster's Argument.

Continuing, he said that the Law Society had at the outset taken the objection that Miss Bebb was unable to sit for the solicitors' examinations because she was a woman, and the question for his lordship, therefore, was whether or not a woman was disqualified from being admitted and enrolled as a solicitor solely by reason of her sex.

The question turned almost entirely on statutes, and particularly on the Solicitors Act (1843), which, although there have been numerous amending statutes, is still the governing Act. The interpretation clause of this Act, sec. 48, contains the words: "In the construction of this Act . . . every word importing the masculine gender only shall extend and be applied to a female as well as a male . . . unless it be otherwise specially provided, or there be something in the subject or context repugnant to such construction," and this clause is incorporated in every subsequent and amending Act relating to solicitors. Now it is nowhere "otherwise specially provided," nor is there anything in the "context" of the Act "repugnant to such construction," so if there be any disqualification it must be "something in the subject." He submitted that there was nothing in the subject repugnant, for a woman could satisfy all the conditions necessary for becoming a solicitor. She could pass the examinations necessary to qualify her for admission to the Preliminary Examination held by the Law Society as governing body under the Solicitors Acts; she could enter into articles of clerkship with a solicitor (as to this there would be no difficulty), and these are the only conditions imposed; moreover, there was no act involved in the work of a solicitor which a woman could not perform. In proof of this Mr. Buckmaster was commencing to enumerate the countries where women are lawyers (the United States, France, Norway, Australia, New Zealand), when he was stopped by Mr. Justice Joyce, who said that such evidence was not in order, as they were dealing with England only.

Mr. Buckmaster further argued that as exactly similar language was used to create both the disabilities and the privileges of solicitors, the word "person" must be taken to include women, as otherwise they would be without the penal sections of the Solicitors Acts, and able to act without any qualifications at all.

Turning to the Common Law, he claimed that by this, women were excluded from public offices only, and that a solicitor was not a public officer. In this connection he dealt with the case of Chorlton v. Lings, the case in which several thousand Manchester women claimed that the Representation of the People Act, 1867, taken in conjunction with a previous Interpretation Act, known as Lord Brougham's Act, had conferred on women the Parliamentary franchise, in which case Dr. Pankhurst was junior counsel.

Second Day's Hearing

On the re-opening of the Court Mr. Buckmaster stated that the Law Society has no control over whom it admits to its examinations except in the case of the Final, and then only in the matter of moral disqualifications. Unless it could be proved that there was something in the "subject" that prevented a woman from being a solicitor, then, according to the Interpretation Clause, a woman could sit for those examinations as well as a man.

Mr. Buckmaster then proceeded to prove his statement that the office of solicitor is a private and not a public one. Finally he declared that the fact of a woman's not having attempted this before is no reason for the exclusion of women. "The disability of sex is the act of Providence; the disqualification of sex is the act of man."

Miss Bebb was then called, and stated that she truly intended to sit for the examinations and qualify as a solicitor, and Mr. Bell, a solicitor, gave evidence of his willingness to accept her articles of clerkship.

Counsel for the Law Society

Mr. Hughes, K.C., opened by stating that he represented the Law Society, which acts in a public capacity as registrar of solicitors, and examiner as to their fitness. This being so, they had felt it was impossible to take such an important step, and one so contrary to precedent, as the admission of women to the profession of law without a decision of the Court as to their eligibility.

He proceeded to state that there is no well authenticated instance of a woman appearing as attorney in a professional sense.

Mr. Hughes emphasised the fact that the provisions of the Act of 1843 are negative, not affirmative, and because certain qualifications are required for a person wishing to become a solicitor, it does not necessarily follow that the possessor of such qualifications has the right to be enrolled.

After a polite tribute to the powers of the two women pleaders in the case of Nairn v. University of St. Andrews, Mr. Hughes stated that a number of rights rest on precedent, and that it requires a very clear and express intention on the part of the legislature to override an inveterate usage. In the case of an ambiguous term, that meaning must be assigned to it which is in accordance with precedent.

Mr. Tomlin supported Mr. Hughes in his statement that the statute did not prescribe who shall be admitted, but regulated who should not.

Many were observed to smile as he stated the well-known fact that public law gives women no rights and demands from her no duties, save those of tax-paying. She can never be outlawed, for she is never inlawed.

Mr. Buckmaster claimed that there is no disability known to the law affecting women in their private rights—since a solicitor is not a public officer there is nothing to prevent a woman exercising the calling, although she has not hitherto desired to do so.

Judgment against the admission of Women

Mr. Justice Joyce proceeded to deliver judgment. He held that at Common Law a woman is incapable of exercising a public function, and a person who is a solicitor may, by virtue of being a solicitor, be qualified to take up certain public functions. He had no doubt that before the passing of the Solicitors' Acts a woman, by reason of her sex, was disqualified at Common Law from being a solicitor, nor had it been shown that this disqualification had been removed. An Interpretation Clause is only for help in drafting—it is not the province of such a clause to make a revolution in law. "That being my view of the Interpretation Clause, there is no positive enactment that every person shall be entitled to be examined. It was not the intention of the legislature to alter the law. Therefore, in my opinion, the disability still remains until the legislature shall alter it. The action is dismissed."

Counsel for the Law Society intimated that they would not claim costs.

We understand that an appeal is to be lodged against this decision.

WOMEN LAWYERS IN ROUMANIA

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—You may like to know the present position of women barristers in Roumania. I am the first woman who has succeeded in obtaining a hearing before the High Court of Cassation with a view to winning the right to plead in the Courts. The ordinary Courts of Tassy admitted me to the bar, but a number of young lawyers appealed against this decision, and the Court of Appeal of Tassy declared in their favour. I then appealed to the Court of Cassation, and my case is fixed to come on in November. That is all, since up to the present, in spite of many articles in the papers and a public opinion in my favour, and in defiance of my diploma of licentiate in law, I have not yet been able to win the right to plead. Men here, as elsewhere, are opposed to all efforts at independence on the part of women. I ought to tell you, also, that the movement for the emancipation of women is far less advanced in the East than in the West. In my opinion, our movement cannot yet be termed one for emancipation at all; those who care really for freedom are too few in number. It is generally supposed that we enjoy wide liberties; in point of fact, we can be doctors, chemists, professors, and there are also women telegraph and telephone operators. That is all. A married woman occupies the same position as a minor or a *fripon* before the law; she has the right to dispose neither of her own fortune nor her own moral person without the consent of her husband. My request to be called to the bar has produced a veritable revolution. I confess I have no great hope of success.—Yours, &c.,

ELLA NEGRUZZI.

BEDFORD COLLEGE

Opening of the New Buildings by the Queen

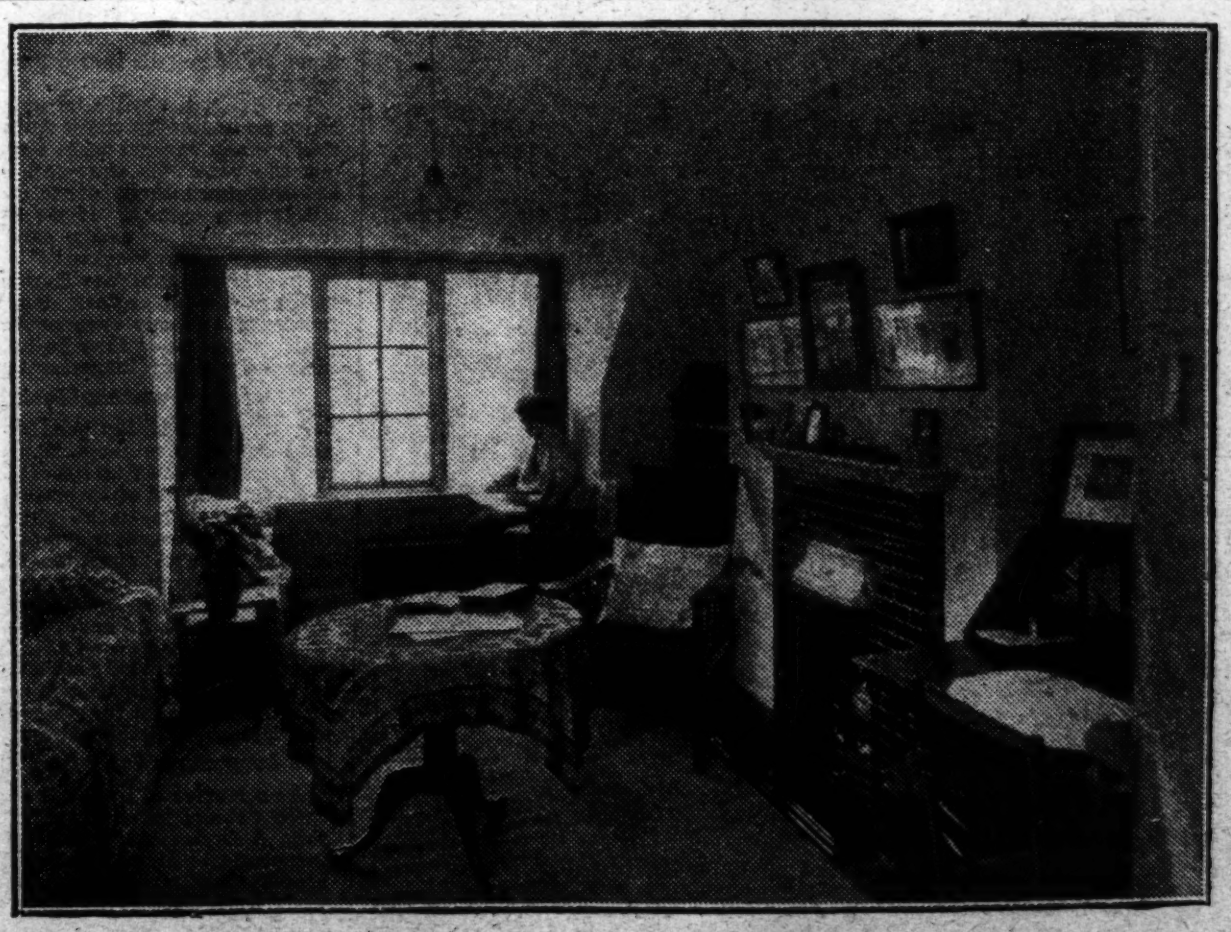
Bedford College for women will move into its new buildings in Regent's Park next October, and the opening ceremony is to be performed by the Queen to-day (Friday). Nearly 350 students, in cap and gown, will take part, while the professors and doctors of science will attend in their scarlet robes. The new buildings consist of six main blocks, overlooking the park, and containing ample accommodation for 400 students, including 85 resident students, for whom exceedingly pleasant quarters are provided, as will be seen by the picture on this page. Particular care has been bestowed on the laboratories, which will be thoroughly modern in every respect, and among the best equipped in the country.

Oldest University College for Women

Bedford College has not always occupied the prosperous and well-recognised position it does now. No Royalty attended its foundation, but, rather, it was treated with considerable scorn and deemed by most to be a wild adventure doomed to early failure. For those who first started it in 1849 in Bedford Square were the earliest pioneers of university education for women, and Bedford College now occupies the proud position of being the oldest university college for women in the country. It was not, however, until 1878 that London University opened its degrees to women, and not until 1882 that women graduates were admitted to convocation. Among its first students were George Eliot (Mary Anne Evans) and one of Charles Dickens' sisters; and later students have included the Duchess of Hamilton, Lady Rütter and Lady Llewellyn-Smith.

Loyalty of Old Students

The old students have helped nobly towards the erection of the new buildings. Apart from two or three large donations, practically the whole of the £100,000 needed has been made up of contributions from over a thousand subscribers, past and present students—contributions varying in amount from the £10,000 given by Mrs. Oliver for the dining hall and common rooms to the humble 6d. As a body the former students are by no means rich. Nearly all of them are earning their living, and it speaks well for their loyalty to the college and their conviction of the value of a university training that, at considerable self-sacrifice, they should have made possible the erection of the new buildings quite free of debt.



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A STUDENT'S ROOM IN BEDFORD COLLEGE

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"'Yes,' we replied; 'male voters are protected all along the line: but voteless, the honourable garb of the women nurses may be dragged in the mire by any criminal. Think of this when next you are hustling refined women to Holloway in Black Maria for militant protest.' What an outrage to decency is the disfranchised position of women!"

WHOSE PLACE IS THE HOME?

It is pleasant to read that at least one speaker at the National Food Reform Conference, held this week in the London Guildhall, recognised that the home is the man's place as well as the woman's. A great deal, as is usual on these occasions, was said about the ignorance of mothers and the consequent suffering of the child; so it was a relief to Suffragists present when Miss Cecile Matheson, Warden of the Women's Settlement at Birmingham, taking part in a discussion on the necessity for training mothers in hygiene, urged that the boy, as well as the girl, should receive this training at school, and so learn to support his mother or his wife in her efforts towards a healthy home surrounding. It was the woman, not the man, said the speaker, who liked to work with open windows now.

WHAT WOMEN FACTORY INSPECTORS HAVE DONE

Urgent Need for More

The annual report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops has just been issued, and much valuable information as to the conditions of employment of women workers is to be gleaned from it.

One of its most outstanding features is the recognition and appreciation of the work done by women factory inspectors. The workers turn to them for counsel and the experienced advice that only a woman could give, and the employers seem to find them more approachable and less rigidly official than men inspectors. The feeling of many of the workers was tersely put by a Scottish mother who, when consulting one of the inspectors on the effects of her employment on her daughter's health, ended up with, "It's gey handy to have the likes of you." Women have proved themselves to be "gey handy" in that sphere; how much longer are they to be kept impatiently waiting to be "gey handy" in others, where their help is no less needed, and from which they are now debarred by lack of political power?

"Be Sure to Watch for Them"

The following letter of thanks from an Irish complainant expresses the same trust and reliance on the women inspectors:—

"Thank you, mem, for coming to X, they are doing what is right since you were here, if you only knew how much good you done . . . I know you have far to come, but God will reward you . . . please mem be sure to watch for them for they will just begin the old way again."

The Suffragist will find in this last sentence an answer to the "Anti" argument that women can get what they want without the vote. So they can—sometimes—but safeguard their future interests without it they cannot. If we don't "watch for them," how easily can they "just begin the old way again!"

Employers, too, are becoming anxious to have the inspectors' verdict on their factories, and one even expressed it as a positive grievance that he had never been visited by a lady inspector before 1912!

Women's Work

But in spite of the good work done, the need for all the inspection that can be undertaken grows increasingly, and there is a vast amount of sheer foundation work yet to be done, more particularly with respect to the enforcing of proper protection against dangerous machinery and the provision of proper sanitary accommodation. With regard to the latter, the women inspectors have to contend with structural defects, and with much obtuseness on the part of employers, who seem incapable of seeing that to set men to control the daily use by girls of these places is intolerable to civilised opinion.

19 Inspectors for 2,000,000 Workers

As a matter of fact, what lies behind all these defects in the working of the Factory Acts is the insufficiency of women inspectors. Inspector after inspector reports how much more good could have been done but for the pressure of work due to long-standing arrears and an inadequate staff. Mr. Asquith prided himself lately in the House of Commons on having first appointed women factory inspectors, but every Suffragist knows that it will need the pressure of the franchise before a sufficient number will be appointed to enable their work to be truly effective. A staff of nineteen women inspectors is at present considered sufficient by the Government to look after the interests of very nearly two million women and girls employed in factories and workshops!

Workers and the Insurance Act

The report throws considerable light on the effect of the Insurance Act on working women. Miss Anderson (H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories) finds that the tendency is towards a diminution of casual labour, and the concentration of outwork in fewer hands. She goes on to say:—

"Many references have come to changes in conditions, or contracts of employment attributed to the Insurance Act, from the Birmingham and Bristol divisions, from Ireland and from London. They consist of reductions in piece rates, new and severer graduated fines, the retaining in hand by employers of a certain proportion of the wages due, and fresh charges for power and standing room."

These encroachments the workers are not strong enough to resist, though in one instance, where a charge for "standing room" was newly imposed, which brought in £95 per annum, or nearly half his rent, to the occupier, without any fresh conveniences to the workers, the Inspector brought a case for contravention of the Truck Acts, and proceedings were successfully instituted. But, failing the intervention of the Inspector, not only do the provisions of the Insurance Act appear from this Report to discriminate most unfairly against women, but even where nominally intended for their advantage, it works out to their detriment. How long will it be before not only the futility, but the harm done by men in attempting to legislate for women without the women's help, is fully realised?

HOW THE VOTE WOULD HELP THE TAILORESSES

Another indication of the connection between women's vote and women's wages, so often denied by Anti-Suffragists, is afforded by the strike of the tailoresses now in progress. Nearly a thousand of these, employed at the Royal Army Clothing Department, Pimlico (a Government workshop), came out on strike last Tuesday afternoon as a protest against a reduction of 2¼d. in piecework rates for soldiers' drab serge clothing. *This reduction is not the first that has been made recently by the War Office in the wages of these women* in the employ of the Government. Is it conceivable that any Government would dare thus to sweat its women employees if they possessed the weapon of the vote?

ANOTHER FORM OF HUNGER-STRIKE

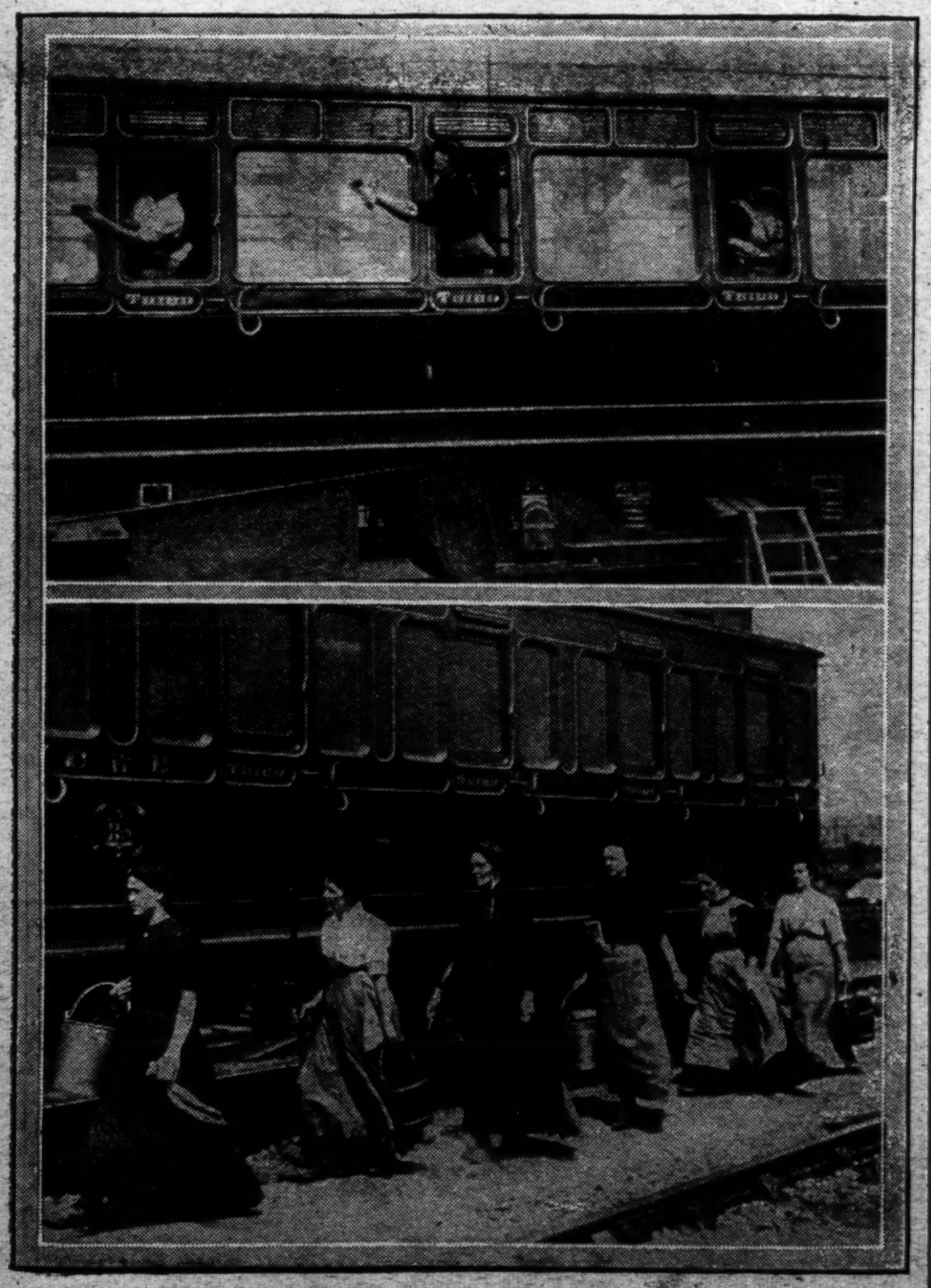
A hunger strike in another form has been declared by the wives of the men now out on strike in the Black Country. One of the men's leaders, speaking in Leeds Town Hall last Monday, said that their womenfolk had pledged themselves to starve rather than let their men surrender. This heroic resolve should help to open the eyes of those who are still unable to see in the Suffragists' hunger-strike for the sake of a principle any analogy to the men's strike for better conditions of work.

THE WORKERS AT THE SUFFRAGE CONGRESS

An interesting meeting, which was scarcely reported in the English papers (the *Labour Leader* being an exception), was held at Budapest last week while the International Suffrage Congress was in progress. It was a meeting of workers only, at which speeches on the economic status of women were made by Madame Adelheid Popp, the well-known Socialist, by Miss I. O. Ford, and Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.

Madame Popp described the poverty of the women workers in Hungary, and denounced the Government as the worst of sweaters, giving as an example of this the Hungarian Government Monopoly Tobacco Factories, where the women earn a miserable wage for a fourteen to sixteen hours' day, and children are worked ten hours a day for half a crown a week. In Austria, she stated, things were somewhat better, for the women in the tobacco factories have won an eight hours' day, a week's holiday a year, and a six weeks' rest during confinement, when their wages are paid.

Miss I. O. Ford spoke in German, pointing out that the very foundation of the woman's movement in England was the demand for equal economic conditions for men and women. Mr. Keir Hardie also emphasised the necessity for the political equality of men and women. The most telling portions of his speech—referred to women, and were left out by the Hungarian interpreter, according to the *Labour Leader*.



" (With acknowledgments to the "Daily Graphic," in which this picture appeared.

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"'Yes,' we replied; 'male voters are protected all along the line: but voteless, the honourable garb of the women nurses may be dragged in the mire by any criminal. Think of this when next you are hustling refined women to Holloway in Black Maria for militant protest.' What an outrage to decency is the disfranchised position of women!"

WHOSE PLACE IS THE HOME?

It is pleasant to read that at least one speaker at the National Food Reform Conference, held this week in the London Guildhall, recognised that the home is the man's place as well as the woman's. A great deal, as is usual on these occasions, was said about the ignorance of mothers and the consequent suffering of the child; so it was a relief to Suffragists present when Miss Cecile Matheson, Warden of the Women's Settlement at Birmingham, taking part in a discussion on the necessity for training mothers in hygiene, urged that the boy, as well as the girl, should receive this training at school, and so learn to support his mother or his wife in her efforts towards a healthy home surrounding. It was the woman, not the man, said the speaker, who liked to work with open windows now.

WHAT WOMEN FACTORY INSPECTORS HAVE DONE

Urgent Need for More

The annual report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops has just been issued, and much valuable information as to the conditions of employment of women workers is to be gleaned from it.

One of its most outstanding features is the recognition and appreciation of the work done by women factory inspectors. The workers turn to them for counsel and the experienced advice that only a woman could give, and the employers seem to find them more approachable and less rigidly official than men inspectors. The feeling of many of the workers was tersely put by a Scottish mother who, when consulting one of the inspectors on the effects of her employment on her daughter's health, ended up with, "It's gey handy to have the likes of you." Women have proved themselves to be "gey handy" in that sphere; how much longer are they to be kept impatiently waiting to be "gey handy" in others, where their help is no less needed, and from which they are now debarred by lack of political power?

"Be Sure to Watch for Them"

The following letter of thanks from an Irish complainant expresses the same trust and reliance on the women inspectors:—

"Thank you, mem, for coming to X, they are doing what is right since you were here, if you only knew how much good you done . . . I know you have far to come, but God will reward you . . . please mem be sure to watch for them for they will just begin the old way again."

The Suffragist will find in this last sentence an answer to the "Anti" argument that women can get what they want without the vote. So they can—sometimes—but safeguard their future interests without it they cannot. If we don't "watch for them," how easily can they "just begin the old way again!"

Employers, too, are becoming anxious to have the inspectors' verdict on their factories, and one even expressed it as a positive grievance that he had never been visited by a lady inspector before 1912!

Women's Work

But in spite of the good work done, the need for all the inspection that can be undertaken grows increasingly, and there is a vast amount of sheer foundation work yet to be done, more particularly with respect to the enforcing of proper protection against dangerous machinery and the provision of proper sanitary accommodation. With regard to the latter, the women inspectors have to contend with structural defects, and with much obtuseness on the part of employers, who seem incapable of seeing that to set men to control the daily use by girls of these places is intolerable to civilised opinion.

19 Inspectors for 2,000,000 Workers

As a matter of fact, what lies behind all these defects in the working of the Factory Acts is the insufficiency of women inspectors. Inspector after inspector reports how much more good could have been done but for the pressure of work due to long-standing arrears and an inadequate staff. Mr. Asquith prided himself lately in the House of Commons on having first appointed women factory inspectors, but every Suffragist knows that it will need the pressure of the franchise before a sufficient number will be appointed to enable their work to be truly effective. A staff of nineteen women inspectors is at present considered sufficient by the Government to look after the interests of very nearly two million women and girls employed in factories and workshops!

Workers and the Insurance Act

The report throws considerable light on the effect of the Insurance Act on working women. Miss Anderson (H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories) finds that the tendency is towards a diminution of casual labour, and the concentration of outwork in fewer hands. She goes on to say:—

"Many references have come to changes in conditions, or contracts of employment attributed to the Insurance Act, from the Birmingham and Bristol divisions, from Ireland and from London. They consist of reductions in piece rates, new and severer graduated fines, the retaining in hand by employers of a certain proportion of the wages due, and fresh charges for power and standing room."

These encroachments the workers are not strong enough to resist, though in one instance, where a charge for "standing room" was newly imposed, which brought in £95 per annum, or nearly half his rent, to the occupier, without any fresh conveniences to the workers, the Inspector brought a case for contravention of the Truck Acts, and proceedings were successfully instituted. But, failing the intervention of the Inspector, not only do the provisions of the Insurance Act appear from this Report to discriminate most unfairly against women, but even where nominally intended for their advantage it works out to their detriment. How long will it be before not only the futility, but the harm done by men in attempting to legislate for women without the women's help, is fully realised?

HOW THE VOTE WOULD HELP THE TAILORESSES

Another indication of the connection between women's vote and women's wages, so often denied by Anti-Suffragists, is afforded by the strike of the tailoresses now in progress. Nearly a thousand of these, employed at the Royal Army Clothing Department, Pimlico (a Government workshop), came out on strike last Tuesday afternoon as a protest against a reduction of 2¼d. in piecework rates for soldiers' drab serge clothing. *This reduction is not the first that has been made recently by the War Office in the wages of these women* in the employ of the Government. Is it conceivable that any Government would dare thus to sweat its women employees if they possessed the weapon of the vote?

ANOTHER FORM OF HUNGER-STRIKE

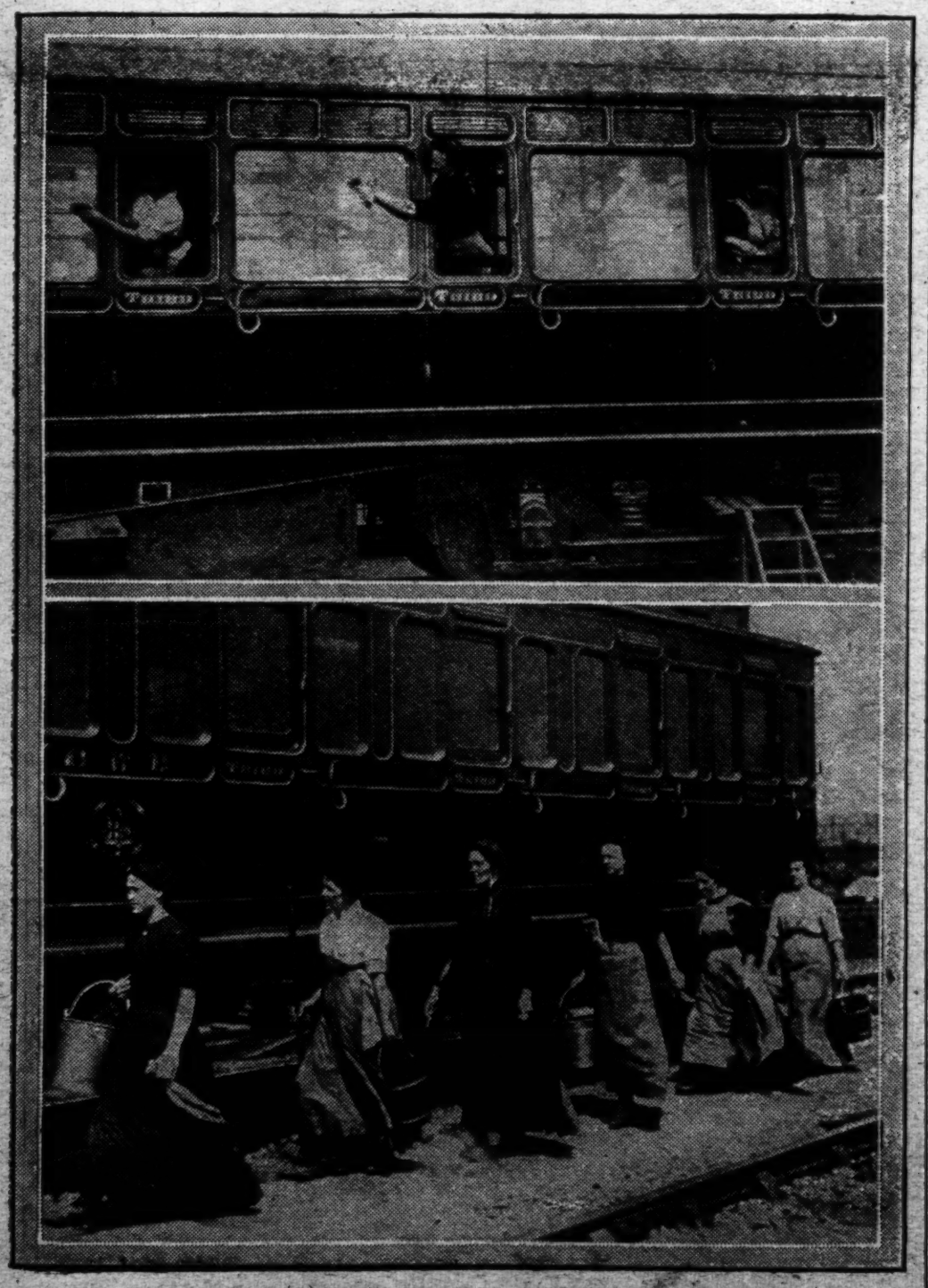
A hunger strike in another form has been declared by the wives of the men now out on strike in the Black Country. One of the men's leaders, speaking in Leeds Town Hall last Monday, said that their womenfolk had pledged themselves to starve rather than let their men surrender. This heroic resolve should help to open the eyes of those who are still unable to see in the Suffragists' hunger-strike for the sake of a principle any analogy to the men's strike for better conditions of work.

THE WORKERS AT THE SUFFRAGE CONGRESS

An interesting meeting, which was scarcely reported in the English papers (the *Labour Leader* being an exception), was held at Budapest last week while the International Suffrage Congress was in progress. It was a meeting of workers only, at which speeches on the economic status of women were made by Madame Adelheid Popp, the well-known Socialist, by Miss I. O. Ford, and Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.

Madame Popp described the poverty of the women workers in Hungary, and denounced the Government as the worst of sweaters, giving as an example of this the Hungarian Government Monopoly Tobacco Factories, where the women earn a miserable wage for a fourteen to sixteen hours' day, and children are worked ten hours a day for half a crown a week. In Austria, she stated, things were somewhat better, for the women in the tobacco factories have won an eight hours' day, a week's holiday a year, and a six weeks' rest during confinement, when their wages are paid.

Miss I. O. Ford spoke in German, pointing out that the very foundation of the woman's movement in England was the demand for equal economic conditions for men and women. Mr. Keir Hardie also emphasised the necessity for the political equality of men and women. The most telling portions of his speech—referred to women, and were left out by the Hungarian interpreter, according to the *Labour Leader*.



(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Graphic," in which this picture appeared.

WOMEN CARRIAGE CLEANERS ON THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

SUFFRAGIST RAID ON DOWNING STREET

The most interesting aspect of the Suffragist raid on Downing Street last Sunday (of which many accounts have appeared in the Press) was the evident sympathy with the rioters displayed by the ordinary public, a sympathy which had its due effect upon the conduct of the police in dealing with the whole disturbance. A little of the temper which was shown by the latter in dealing with the women on Black Friday, in November, 1910, would have converted Sunday's affair into a very ugly riot. As it was, some 2,000 people assembled in Whitehall, round and about the entrance to Downing Street, a good many hard blows were exchanged, and people were in some cases, including both police and women, roughly handled and knocked down. Five arrests of men were made, and an attempt, it was said, was made to arrest Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, which was frustrated by the intervention of men supporters. She finally drove westwards on the top of an omnibus, waving the militant tricolour, amid the rousing cheers of a large crowd.

HOW IT HAPPENED

The raid was a sequel to a successful demonstration in favour of Free Speech and a Free Press, which was held in Trafalgar Square on Sunday afternoon, under the auspices of the Free Speech Defence Committee. Although the Square was not densely crowded, as on the former occasion, in May, the demonstration was very well attended, and the audience round the three platforms on the plinth was entirely friendly to the speakers, who included Mr. J. Wedgwood, M.P., Mr. Martin, M.P., Mr. Joseph Clayton, Mr. Frank Smith, and other well-known supporters of Labour movements, besides several prominent suffragists, such as Miss Brackenbury and Miss Naylor.

A fine procession of East End workers, men and women, marching under the banners of the W.S.P.U., surmounted by red caps of liberty, arrived to swell the audience after the meeting had begun, and were greeted with loud cheers, both from the crowds already assembled, and from passers-by on omnibuses. There was nothing in the appearance of the Square, except perhaps in the symbolism of the caps of liberty, to suggest a riot, or in the resolution, which was passed with acclamation, and demanded only the safeguarding of the rights of speech and Press.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was the last speaker, before the resolution was put, on the West side of the plinth. She objected to the terms of the resolution, which contained no direct reference to votes for women, and made a stirring speech about the Cat and Mouse Act. She roused much indignation over the treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst, whose hair, she said, had gone quite white in the last few weeks. "Are you going to let her die?" she asked. At which there were loud cries of "No!" Proceeding, she pointed out that if the crowd chose they could imprison the members of the Government in their houses that very afternoon.

Her speech aroused considerable applause, and after the resolution had been put she came down from the plinth, and, together with Suffragists carrying flags, walked down Whitehall in the direction of Downing Street, preceded by a large crowd of dockers and others. The police were apparently taken by surprise, and only by taking a short cut and running with considerable speed did they manage to reach Downing Street in time to form a cordon across the end of the street. Until reinforcements arrived they could not do more than keep back the crowd, a number of whom tried to enter the street.

Three cheers were given for free speech, and the Marseillaise was sung by the women, and it was only when some plain clothes officers—some said they were members of the Civilian Force—became unnecessarily violent and began to handle some of the women roughly that their men supporters grew angry and made a determined effort to break through the cordon of police. The police beat them back, but they returned to the charge more than once; and in the struggle which ensued a pole bearing a flag and a cap of liberty was seized and broken by the police, and blows were given and returned.

Finally, mounted police and others arrived and cleared Whitehall, but not without considerable difficulty, the raiders on one occasion doubling back and re-forming, and again advancing towards Downing Street with the intention of rushing it. In the end, five arrests of men having been made, the crowd, led by the women, fell back upon the Square, singing the Marseillaise and waving their banners. So much sympathy was shown with the men who had been arrested that the police had their work to do in order to get them to Cannon Row Police Station, and a man who showed sympathy with the police had to be rescued from the angry crowd.

The *Daily Herald* states that one of the constables in plain clothes who caused trouble by the free use of their sticks wore a trade union badge, and that it was after one of the women—a nurse—had been knocked down by a policeman that the dockers and others formed a bodyguard round the women and made it impossible for the police either to arrest or to ill-treat them further.

THE FIVE ARRESTS

The five men who were arrested were John Quinn, Edward Kingsland, Geo. Edmonds, Harold Wallenstein, and Stanley Cooper. Wallenstein was fined 20s., and the others 40s. or fourteen days. Edward Kingsland denied the charge of obstruction, and chose the alternative of imprisonment as a protest against the action of the police.

Lest We Forget

Do Suffragists remember that for mere "obstruction" in Parliament Square, without attempt at "assault," many women have been sent to prison since 1905 for terms as long as three months?

"CONSCIENCE DOTH MAKE COWARDS . . ."

Visitors to Cambridge this summer will not be allowed to forget the question of Woman Suffrage, for, as a precaution against possible attacks by Suffragettes, several of the colleges have decided to shut their gates to strangers during the vacation.

Similar apprehensions, according to the Press, are responsible for the announcement that there will be no Royal Garden Party this season. One is reported to have been arranged to take place at Buckingham Palace in July, but this is now said to have been abandoned for fear of the presence of Suffragettes.

At Henley the most elaborate precautions are being taken to guard against the women who are demanding votes. Great flares have been kept burning at night near the boat tents; bodies of police, aided by the light of motor lamps, have also been very much in evidence.

The Cabinet Minister's Entry

At the luncheon party given to Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs at the National Liberal Club last Tuesday, Mr. Churchill, who arrived late, was unable to enter the smoking-room, in which the luncheon was held, as the door was locked against all comers—"presumably," adds the account in the Press—"as a precaution against possible intruders." The precise character of these "intruders" no newspaper mentions; but, knowing the present state of the Cabinet Minister's conscience, we can form our own conclusions.

"Frantic knockings," continues one account, "were taken no notice of by those inside." Of course not. That is naturally the way in which the ubiquitous Suffragette always announces her arrival at a gathering of Cabinet Ministers. Finally, with the help of the detectives who formed his customary bodyguard, the First Lord of the Admiralty pushed his way through the crowd of waiters and servers who thronged the pantry, and made his undramatic entry through the door of that humble apartment.

How much simpler to give women the Vote!

AN ANSWER TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Councillor Margaret Ashton has sent a letter to the Press, commenting effectively on Mr. Lloyd George's latest attempt, in *Nash's Magazine*, to defend his inaction with regard to Woman Suffrage. In the course of it, she says:—

"Militant tactics have no more destroyed the suffrage cause (even in Ireland, where, indeed, causes never die; evidently a foreign country to the Welsh Chancellor, as his not very complimentary remark shows) than the Marconi business has destroyed the Government. The suffrage cause, on the contrary, is 'as full of liveliness as you please,' to use Mr. George's own words. It centres round a nucleus of some 100,000 organised law-abiding suffragists, and its banner is being upheld in every county in the kingdom by the 42,000 subscribing members of the National Union, not to mention the members of a score of other non-militant societies. At this very moment National Unionists are marching on London from the four quarters of the compass, to rouse the country to a still keener realisation of the urgency of the demand for women's suffrage by law-abiding men and women, and Mr. Lloyd George is cordially invited to witness the demonstration in Hyde Park on July 26, when he will find that so far from being destroyed by militancy, the cause can supply, by the members of one society alone, twenty different platforms in one afternoon, from all of which a suffrage resolution will be put to the public—and carried.

"Mr. Lloyd George could surely find a better way of giving effect to the 'firm support' of which he boasts than torpedoing suffrage bills, or hiding his own inactivity behind Mrs. Pankhurst's 'sheer organised lunacy' or the stage spectre of 'increasing hostility of public sentiment.' Mr. George gives himself away in his last sentence. 'Friends' of the women's cause, he says, will 'begin to take heart again' when a 'new movement altogether' arises. To omit all reference to the constitutional agitation is not the act of a friend, but of one who desires to put forward an excuse for having done so little to guide public sentiment into a more reasonable channel."

A PETITION FOR MRS. PANKHURST'S RELEASE

A petition in the following form has been addressed to the King by six graduates and teachers of the London University:—

To His Most Gracious Majesty the King.

The humble petition of the undersigned Teachers and Graduates of the University of London for the grant of a free Pardon to Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst.

Sheweth

That the Jury, while finding that Mrs. Pankhurst had broken the law, accompanied their verdict with a strong recommendation to mercy.

That the disinterestedness of the prisoner and her high personal character are admitted.

That the state of the Prisoner's health renders it unlikely that she can live to complete her sentence under the terms of the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act, 1913.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that the sentence passed on Mrs. Pankhurst may be terminated by a free pardon.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

The signatories to this petition are:—

Sir Edward Henry Busk, M.A., LL.B.
The Rev. A. Caldecott, D.D., D.Lit. (Dean, King's College).
W. D. Halliburton, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. (Professor of Physiology, King's College).
Sir Victor Horsley, M.B., B.S., F.R.S.
Karl Pearson, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. (Professor of Eugenics, University College).
Sidney Webb, LL.B. (Professor of Public Administration, London School of Economics).

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press during the week to Suffragists:—

Wednesday, June 25.—Fire at Holywell Station, near Birmingham, on Midland Railway, considerable damage.

Fire in letter-box at Newport, Mon.

Thursday, June 26.—Fires in a large number of letter-boxes in Dundee.

Saturday, June 28.—Canister of powder, with fuse, reported to have been found early in the morning near entrance to Newcastle Labour Exchange.

Monday, June 30.—Ballikinrain Castle, Balfron, Stirlingshire, completely destroyed by fire, only stables saved; damage estimated at £70,000.

Leuchars Junction, near St. Andrews, entirely destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £2,000.

IN THE PRESS

A HORRIBLE HASH

The Government is making a horrible hash of the Suffragette worry. Having made up its mind that it has exhausted the resources of civilisation, it has fallen back upon the methods of barbarism. For these are the methods of the tragically ridiculous. . . . The death, say, of Mrs. Pankhurst or some other prominent militant under the "Cat and Mouse" torture will mean the revolt of the whole of English womanhood and a considerable amount of English manhood, too. If the Government cannot deal sanely, soberly, and decently with the question of the enfranchisement of women, the sooner it makes way for a Government which can and will, the better.—**The Referee.**

SUCCESS WORSE THAN FAILURE

The Home Secretary has, of course, disregarded the advice tendered him by Mr. Justice Phillimore, and every one of the suffragettes sentenced to long terms has been released after three or four days' hunger strike, during which even water was refused by these Spartan women. . . . Their enlargement cannot be a matter of regret to those who have from the beginning suspected a serious failure of justice. . . . . And what of Mrs. Pankhurst? We hate her policy; but in plain words she cannot be allowed to die as a result of the struggle between her and the law. Her physical state is such that, sooner or later, this will be the result of re-arresting her. The Home Secretary obviously desires to avoid such an issue, which is politically (and morally) undesirable. The Cat and Mouse Act is an expedient; it has failed, as we predicted it would fail. But its success would, in Mrs. Pankhurst's case, be a worse thing than its failure.—**The Nation.**

BY THE FRONT GATE

Prisons no longer have either walls or doors for these people. They do not need to pick locks, to dig their way out by laborious methods, or to make exciting escapes over high walls. They leave by the front gate, helped out by the officials. Have they beaten the law to a standstill? Parliament hurried through the Cat and Mouse Bill. But it will do no more than make prison a temporary lodging for these people until one of them loses her life. Then there will be an outcry for its repeal; or it will be allowed to drop into abeyance. They have reduced prison and the administration of justice to a farce. What will Mr. McKenna do next? — **Sheffield Daily Telegraph.**

PRESS RESERVE

Quite recently, in an Irish prison, an ordinary criminal, whose trial attracted considerable attention, began the hunger strike and was forcibly fed. But just as the authorities were on the point of making the fact public—to show the effects of Suffragette bad example—the strike broke down, the convict's resistance being overcome. Nothing about this case, therefore, has appeared in the Press, though we should doubtless have heard of it had it turned out otherwise.—**Irish Citizen.**

NEW LIBERAL WOMEN'S UNION

A Liberal Women's Suffrage Union has been formed as the outcome of the defeated resolution brought forward at the last council meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation by the Tunbridge Wells Women's Liberal Association. This resolution, which was defeated by about 600 to 300 votes, ran as follows:—

"No Women's Liberal Association is eligible for membership of the Federation unless it is prepared to abstain from working for Anti-Suffrage Liberal candidates."

Those who were foremost in promoting this resolution have now formed the Liberal Women's Suffrage Union, of which the object is defined as follows:—

"To promote among Liberal women such a strong conviction of the need of women's enfranchisement that they shall take all possible constitutional means to secure the adoption of Liberal candidates in favour of Woman Suffrage, and that they shall abstain from working for any Anti-Suffrage candidate."

Mrs. Francis Acland, writing on the new Union in the *Englishwoman* (July), says:—"The Union will be a voluntary association of women who, so far from putting suffrage before party, desire to *unite* suffrage and party forces, with the object of securing a suffrage measure as part of the next Liberal programme, and thus bringing to an end the miserable situation of a Liberal Party at loggerheads with an essentially Liberal movement, a situation which Liberal women deplore as much for the sake of their party as of suffrage."

Mrs. Acland says further that all Liberal women are eligible for membership on condition "that they undertake not to work for any anti-suffrage Liberal until after the next General Election."

The offices of the Union are at Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W., and the officers are Mrs. Maclaren (Chairman), Lady Aberconway (Vice-Chairman), Mrs. Heron Maxwell, Mrs. Francis Acland (Hon. Secretaries), Lady Cowdray, Lady Norman (Hon. Treasurers).

THE VOTE IN ILLINOIS

Particulars are now to hand of the precise nature of the victory gained in Illinois. The Woman Suffrage Bill recently passed by the Illinois Legislature gives the women the right to vote for all the statutory offices in the State—that is to say, they can vote for the President of the United States, for the Mayor and Aldermen of Chicago, and for all other officers of cities, villages, and towns, except police magistrates. The Bill also gives them the right to vote on all propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of the municipalities and other political divisions of the State.

This, although not absolutely full suffrage, is considerably more than the municipal suffrage in this country. It is the utmost that could be conceded by the State Legislature, full suffrage demanding the passage through both Houses of the State Legislature by a two-thirds majority of an amendment to the Constitution, which would afterwards have to be submitted to a Referendum of the electors.

The *New York World* calls the Illinois success the "most important victory in years" for Woman Suffrage; and goes on to say: "In winning over Illinois to their cause in the essentials of the franchise, the Suffragists have made an advance the importance of which is measured by the fact that Illinois is the first State east of the Mississippi to give women votes."

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, in an interesting article on the victory, appearing in the *Woman's Journal* for June 21, points out that Illinois has twenty-nine votes in the electoral college for the President—more than any other State except New York and Pennsylvania. With the fifty-five electoral votes of the other enfranchised States, this means that women now have equal control with men over eight-four of the votes cast for the President of the United States.

THE NEW WOMEN'S HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN

The foundation stone of the new South London Hospital for Women was laid last Tuesday by H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll. To women the interesting part of the ceremony was that portion of the illuminated address read by Miss Douie, M.B., which pointed out that the first women's hospital to be officered entirely by women (the New Hospital for Women in Euston Road) cannot deal with more than a proportion of the cases that apply to it; and, further, that the out-patients' department of the new South London Hospital is already at work in Newington Causeway, and since its opening on April 2, over 1,300 attendances have been made—thus showing how far the supply exceeds the demand among women of the poorer classes for medical attendance by women doctors.

THE HOME OFFICE AND SIR VICTOR HORSLEY

STATEMENTS VERSUS FACTS AGAIN!

As our readers know, Sir Victor Horsley has been in controversy with the Home Secretary for some months on the subject of forcible feeding of Miss Lenton in February last, and the subsequent accusations brought by Mr. McKenna against Sir Victor Horsley and Mr. Mansell Moullin through the medium of the Royal College of Surgeons. Briefly, the facts are these: On March 16 these two physcians published a medical report of the facts of Miss Lenton's case; these were denied by Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons on March 18, and when he was asked to verify or withdraw his aspersions on the veracity of the signatories to the report, the Home Secretary not only declined to do so, but proceeded to lodge accusations against them at the College of Surgeons, and further declined to furnish Sir Victor Horsley with particulars of these accusations. On June 10, in answer to Lord Robert Cecil, the Home Secretary admitted in the House of Commons that he had approached the Royal College, and had refused to supply Sir Victor Horsley with a copy of the correspondence, adding that the latter had "made certain complaints against several members of the Royal College of Surgeons."

Sir Victor Horsley's Denial

In his letter to the Press, dated June 19, Sir Victor Horsley announces that he has at last obtained details from the College of Surgeons of the secret attack made upon him by Mr. McKenna, and denies absolutely that either he or Mr. Mansell Moullin has made the complaints alleged. "What we have done," he writes, "has been to condemn from a medical standpoint Mr. McKenna's forcible feeding of suffrage prisoners, and particularly in the case of Miss Lenton, who was nearly killed by the liquid passing into the lung. Also we have repelled in the Press Mr. McKenna's attack upon us in the House of Commons, where, of course, we could not reply to him. We have done nothing more, and I may add we do not intend to allow this attack by the Home Secretary on free speech and the democratic extension of the franchise to be hidden in the confusion of squalid personal considerations."

The Reply of the Royal College

The letter goes on to say:—

"The College of Surgeons, after full deliberation of some weeks, have adopted the following reply to Mr. McKenna:—

'Royal College of Surgeons of England,
Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

"'Copy of reply to the Secretary of State adopted by the Council at a meeting on June 12, 1913.

"'The statements and documents referring to the case of Lilian Lenton submitted to the President by the Secretary of State are in many respects in direct conflict.

"'The Council would point out that they have no authority to compel the attendance of witnesses, and have no power to hold such a judicial inquiry as would be necessary to enable them to decide the points at issue. They are, therefore, unable to enter upon the ethical questions involved, and are not in a position to determine whether anything has occurred calling for action on their part.

"'(Signed) S. FORREST COWELL, Secretary.'"

The Secret "Dossier"

The three principal documents contained in the secret *dossier* with which Mr. McKenna furnished the Royal College are, Sir Victor Horsley proceeds to say:—

"(1) His full accusations against Dr. Moullin and myself; (2) a longer and still more perverted form of the same accusations elaborated in the form of a memorandum and signed by the Prison Commissioners; (3) a report made by a prison doctor admitting that Miss Lenton was in good condition immediately before the forcible feeding began, and that nevertheless within three hours of that operation she was in a state of most dangerous collapse and 'imminent death.'—(Mr. McKenna.)"

The rest of the documents consist of newspaper cuttings relating mainly to medical criticism by both physicians of forcible feeding, "and in particular our exposure of the misleading character of the Home Office circular on the Lenton case issued on February 28, which he withheld from the College."

Home Office "Explanation" Omitted

The omission of this particular document from those submitted to the College of Surgeons was a very serious matter, as will be seen from the following passages in Sir Victor Horsley's letter:—

"It will be best perhaps for me to deal with this document now. It was issued under the following circumstances. Miss Lenton, who was under remand, was suddenly and illegally released by Mr. McKenna on Sunday, February 23. The Richmond magistrates were greatly moved by this breach of justice and protested. Someone (not named) wrote to the Home Office on the subject. Mr. McKenna thereupon issued on February 28 the following 'Home Office explanation,' as it was termed:—

"'Dear Sir,—I am desired by the Home Secretary to say that Lilian Lenton was reported by the medical officer at Holloway Prison last Sunday to be in a state of collapse and in imminent danger of death consequent upon her refusal to take food. Three courses were open—(1) To leave her to die. (2) To attempt to feed her forcibly, which the medical officer advised would probably entail death in her existing condition. (3) To release her on her undertaking that she would surrender herself for the further hearing of her case. The Home Secretary adopted the last course.—(Signed) F. W. HARRIS.'

The Real Truth

"The rest of the circular simply related to the magistrates' position in the matter. Anyone reading this document would be deceived into thinking (1) that Miss Lenton was collapsed by her few hours' abstinence from food, (2) that she had not been forcibly fed, (3) that Mr. McKenna had had thoughts of forcibly feeding her, but had generously desisted on the advice of his prison medical officer, (4) that all he could do then was to release her; whereas the real truth was (1) she had been forcibly fed and nearly killed, (2) she was in a most dangerous state of collapse and shock due to the forcible feeding and fluid entering her lungs, (3) that to save a public scandal he released her immediately, i.e., in a few minutes (Hansard 18, 3, 13, col. 977), and hurried her away to a private house.

"This is indisputable. The pages of Hansard and the documents are quite eloquent. On that Sunday afternoon frantic telephone messages from the prison reached the Home Office (see Hansard, March 18) and had to be sent on to 'One of the officials. He was told that the thing (*sic*) might be a question of minutes.' (McKenna, Hansard, col. 977.) The 'thing' referred to by Mr. McKenna was Miss Lenton's probable death! The 'official' gave the necessary release, and after three stimulating hypodermic injections she was conveyed away in blankets and carried by the prison doctor and wardresses into her friend's house.

'Direct Conflict" of Statement

"I mention these details because their medical significance lies in the fact that Mr. McKenna explained them on March 18 to the House of Commons as being the ordinary symptoms and treatment of an attack of simple pleurisy which got well in a week. It will be noted not only that medically speaking there is here an absurd 'conflict' of statements, but also that Mr. McKenna throws over his previous explanation on February 28 of a cause of the prisoner's collapse—namely, starvation, and substitutes a new one altogether—namely, pleurisy, on March 18. Of course, as the fact of the forcible feeding had to be admitted on March 18, the previous explanation of February 28 was no longer watertight."

Sir Victor Horsley concludes by directing attention to "the fact that it still remains possible for a Minister of the Crown to bring secret intrigues to bear against those who oppose his anti-democratic ideas and actions."

Mr. McKenna's Exact Words

The exact words of Mr. McKenna's statement in the House of Commons on March 18 (which contradict his "Home Office explanation" of February 28) as given in the Parliamentary Report, column 977, are as follows:—

"This event [the release of Miss Lenton] happened on a Sunday afternoon. Nobody, of course, was at the Home Office. Communication was made by telephone to the Home Office, and passed on to the private house of one of the officials. He was told that the thing might be a question of minutes. Is it conceivable that any man, with such a statement made to him, in haste, not minutes, but hours, in finding first of all the clerk to the magistrates, and then the magistrates, before he issued the order? The matter was urgent—to save life. All I can say is that any Home Secretary, who, under the circumstances, delayed his decision, would deserve to be hanged in his own red tape!"

A QUESTION IN THE HOUSE

Mr. Frederick Hall (Dulwich) asked the Home Secretary the result of his communications to the Royal College of Surgeons as to the charges made by Sir Victor Horsley with reference to the treatment of Miss Lilian Lenton while in prison; and if he will submit the terms of his communication and reply thereto, in order to afford the House an opportunity of drawing its conclusions with regard to the serious allegations made and the grounds on which he addressed his complaint to the College of Surgeons?

Mr. Gulland: If the hon. Member will move for the correspondence, I shall be glad to lay it on the Table of the House.

On Thursday, after we went to press, the necessary application was to be made by Mr. Hall.

WHO HAS CONVERTED THE HOME SECRETARY?

During the Debate in the Standing Committee on the Mental Deficiency Bill, on June 26, Mr. McKenna gave expression to some extraordinary statements, which are hardly consonant with his well-known anti-feminist views. He is reported as having said, in connection with the appointment of the paid Commissioners forming the Board of Control under the Act, that "it was a *vitally important principle* that they should get into this Act of Parliament the recognition of the *equality of the sexes* for employment in cases of this kind. Therefore they had inserted the words 'of whom at least one shall be a woman,' in order to get rid of the sex disqualification." Furthermore, he actually expressed himself as desirous that no fixed number should be inserted in the Bill, as that would have the effect of limiting the number of women who could be employed! Later on, when discussing the proportion of four legal to eight non-legal Commissioners, he said that "he hoped that very soon women would be able to become lawyers." Verily, the ways of the Anti-Suffragist are hard to follow!

Another "Anti" with a Conscience

It was another Anti-Suffragist, too—Mr. Hills—who moved as an amendment to the Mental Deficiency Bill—

"That in the case of all certified institutions for defectives where women and children were detained at least one visitor should be a woman; and in every county and every county borough among the persons appointed as visitors there should be included at least one woman medical practitioner, where there was any such woman medical practitioner willing to serve as a visitor."

It is true that he was prevailed upon to withdraw that portion of the amendment relating to the woman doctor, and that his amendment was finally defeated. But he probably felt he had done something to show how carefully the interests of women are safeguarded by those who refuse to women the simple right to protect themselves; and it is left to the women to point out that his action is scarcely consistent with his Parliamentary record, which shows that Mr. Hills voted against the Second Reading of Mr. Dickinson's Bill, and was absent from the division on the Third Reading of the Cat and Mouse Bill.

AND MR. JUSTICE PHILLIMORE?

Mr. Justice Phillimore, who, in his summing up in the recent W.S.P.U. Conspiracy trial, practically confessed himself an Anti-Suffragist, has been advocating the appointment of women constables, and at the Surrey Assizes, Guildford, last Monday, suggested that there should be one in each petty sessional division. These Antis!

An Expert View

This suggestion of Mr. Justice Phillimore's is heartily supported by Mr. W. A. Coote, secretary of the National Vigilance Society, but he considers that the policewoman's work should be limited to dealing with women and children. She should have a recognised uniform and power of arrest in cases with which she is qualified to deal. Mr. Coote believes that policewomen would prove extremely useful with regard to the problem of the streets. To a *Daily News* interviewer he added:—

"We want something different from the ordinary police system in coping with this evil. The simple method of fining or imprisoning is not the proper way. There should be the alternative of entering a prison on the Borstal lines, and that might be brought about more satisfactorily through the agency of women police."

TO-MORROW'S JAM AGAIN!

Sir. H. H. Johnston, writing in the *Westminster Gazette* last Tuesday on "A Non-Party Programme," says:—

"It cannot be denied that amongst imminent measures is the unavoidable readjustment of the Parliamentary Suffrage by the abolition of plural voters and the granting of the vote to women. The last concession is inevitable with the march of time and the ideals of common justice which the Liberal Party must pursue. But it has been delayed and prejudiced by the later 'militancy'; deeds of violence always delay and sear reforms. The question so divides the existing Cabinet that this just extension of the franchise could not possibly become an accomplished fact in the life of the present Parliament. But when the Liberal Party—as a Party—next approaches the reform of the Franchise laws, as the result of a fresh mandate from the country, it must do so with the Parliamentary vote for women amongst the clauses of its new Reform Bill."

What a pity that Suffragists are so bent on having their jam to-day! Politicians are never tired of offering it to them to-morrow!

TAX RESISTANCE AT A POLICE STATION

Members of the Tax Resistance League have had their goods sold many times and in many places, in auction rooms, on village greens, in public houses, and station yards, and in open and closed markets, but for the first time one of their member's goods were last week sold under distraint at a police station. On June 25 Miss Lydia Downs' jewellery was sold for non-payment of the Inhabited House Duty at the Clacton-on-Sea Police Station.

A procession of Suffragists marched to the sale, where a very large crowd awaited them. Speeches were made, the Chief Constable, the Magistrate's Clerk, and other officials being among the audience. Some of the men were inclined to be hostile, but after their questions had been answered, amid much merriment, the usual resolution was put to the meeting and carried with a few dissentients.

Miss Alice Walters was fined 25s. and costs at Bristol on June 25 for keeping a dog without a licence. She told the constable that she should not buy a licence as a protest against the Government. When asked if she had any goods to be levied, she replied: "No, but I have a castle in Spain."

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, June 27.—At Newport, Mon. charged with placing an explosive substance in a letter-box, Mrs. Humphrey Mackworth; remanded for a fortnight, bail allowed.

Tuesday, July 1.—In the Chancery Division, before Mr. Justice Joyce, action Bebb v. the Law Society, to decide the right of women to become solicitors.

Wednesday, July 2.—In the Chancery Division, Bebb v. Law Society continued; action dismissed.

COMING EVENTS

There will be a meeting of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, to-day (Friday). Reception, 8 p.m.; speeches, 8.30 p.m. Speakers, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Neal, and Rev. F. M. Green. Admission by ticket, obtainable by Fellows only.

There will also be a Fellowship meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, July 13, at 5 p.m., when the speakers will include Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Cather, and Mrs. Brailsford.

To-day (Friday), at 6 p.m., Mrs. Louis Fagan, who was recently fined £20 for non-payment of licences on a man-servant and motor-car, will have goods sold under distraint for non-payment of the licences. Sale-room: Messrs. Harding's, 44a, Wilton Road, Victoria Station; protest meeting at the corner of Grosvenor Gardens.

There will be a meeting of the League of Justice on July 9, at 3 p.m., at Alan's Tea Rooms, Oxford Circus. Speaker, Mrs. Tanner. Chair, Miss Gwynneth Chapman.

The Women's Freedom League announce a party for Mrs. Despard's birthday at the Caxton Hall, on July 10, at 8 p.m. Concert at 8.30. Tickets, 1s., obtainable at the W.F.L. Offices.

THE REFORM OF THE DIVORCE LAW

The Actresses' Franchise League and the Divorce Law Reform Union are holding a meeting to-day (Friday), at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, at 3 p.m. The meeting is sure to be one of special interest, as the speakers are Mr. Plowden, the Metropolitan Magistrate, Madame Lydia Yavorska (Princess Bariatinsky), and Mr. A. Hamilton. Miss Gertrude Kingston will be in the chair, and the subject of the speeches will be "The Reform of the Divorce Law."

The tickets are 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s., and can be obtained from the F.L.A., or from the Divorce Law Reform Union, 39, St. James's Street, S.W.

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST COERCION

The National Political League have announced a great demonstration, to be held in the Queen's Hall next Tuesday at 8 p.m., "to protest against the Government's extreme coercion policy whereby women are facing death through the administration of the Cat and Mouse Act, and to demand the only statesmanlike alternative, the Vote, as the end of it, once for all."

The officials of the League inform us that from all parts of the country they have received communications showing how widespread is the indignation felt by all classes of people, and particularly by adherents of the Liberal Government, who feel that the policy of coercion in the face of unrest caused by a real grievance is a grave departure from Liberal principles. The demonstration next Tuesday is the first of a series to be held in all the important political centres of the country, to rouse activity to a demand for the right treatment of the Woman Suffrage question.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

The opening of the new lecture room in Park Mansions Arcade was an unqualified success. Every chair was occupied, and late-comers had to stand. The room was prettily decorated with the green and white banners of the N.C.S. and was very cool and airy. Mrs. Chapman declared the new premises open, and spoke on the present situation. Mrs. Hartley gave a short history of the Society, and Mrs. Pember Reeves told how women had won the vote in New Zealand. An appeal for funds resulted in a promise of £30 from one lady, and several promises of £5 and smaller sums, amounting to £74. Mr. Laurence Housman explained how he had just been allowed exemption from a jury owing to his conscientious objection to trying cases in which women are concerned as long as they are not on equal footing with men. He discussed methods of working for the vote. Mrs. Skipwith acted as hostess. The lecture room can be let to other societies at a charge of 30s. for afternoon and £2 2s. for evening meetings.

A delightful entertainment took place on June 25, by kind permission of Lady Byron, in her garden at Hampstead, and was largely attended. The following well-known artistes gave their help: Miss Margaret Morris and her dancing children, the Misses Chaplin, Florence Moss, May Mukle, Hope Joseph, Kathleen Streatfield, Una Muslina, and Mrs. Crofts. The fête resulted in a profit of about £50. With the ever-increasing expense of a growing society we must not rest on our laurels, and are therefore already planning a bazaar for December 2 and 3. Please keep these dates free and begin to prepare your contributions! The summer holidays give good opportunities for picking up quaint and saleable articles suitable for Christmas presents.

Forthcoming Meetings

Friday, 4th.—Kensington Committee meeting, 27, Hereford Square.

Sunday, 6th.—Hyde Park, noon. Miss McGowan, Mrs. Merivale Mayer.

Tuesday, 8th.—Park Mansions Arcade, 3 p.m. MISS ABADAM, MRS. CECIL CHAPMAN. Hostess, Miss Letitia Dixon.

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259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
5, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League.
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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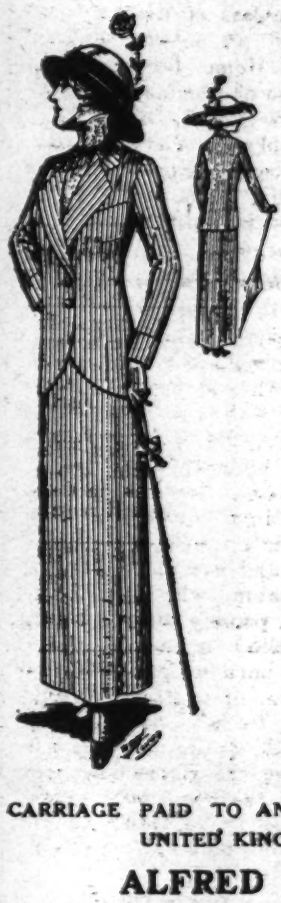

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LEAGUE OF JUSTICE.—Next meeting, Wednesday, July 9, at 3 p.m., Alan's Tea-Rooms, Oxford Circus. Speaker: Mrs. Tanner; chair, Miss Gwynneth Chapman. Come, and bring a friend.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—A Jumble Sale will be held in the New Room, 143a, Park Mansions' Arcade (opposite Knightsbridge Tube Station), on Friday, July 18, at 4 o'clock. Admission by ticket.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45 Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

SITUATIONS VACANT.

COOK-GENERAL WANTED.—Four in family; no children; no washing or window cleaning; help given; wages, £18-£20.—Apply, 66, Adelaide Road, Hampstead, N.W.

WANTED. — Experienced Infant's Nurse; vegetarian preferred; country; all duties.—Box 406, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

PROFESSIONAL NURSE (Masseuse) desires holiday post for August.—Please apply Box 404, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

GARDENING.

GARDENING for Health.—Ladies received; charming country residence; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

RIDING

RIDING.—Miss Eva Christy—Author of "Modern Side-saddle Riding," &c., and teacher of Cross-saddle and Side-saddle Riding, has vacancy for another student to train for the profession of teaching riding, including educational and scientific principles as required in the modern schools and colleges; fees reasonable.—1, Dennington Park Mansions, London.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MEMBERSHIP CARD*

Various Forms of Service Open to Members

1.—To take Votes for Women each week and read it.
2.—To circulate Votes for Women among friends.
3.—To sell Votes for Women in the streets or by house to house canvas.
4.—To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper.
5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in Votes for Women.
6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of Votes for Women posters.
7.—To secure new members for the Votes for Women Fellowship.
8.—To contribute to the Votes for Women Fellowship Fund, for various purposes of development, including the display of posters.
9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of Votes for Women, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so Votes for Women does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of Votes for Women give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name.....
(Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address.....

.....

*** The above, in the form of a four-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.**

TO GIRLS SEEKING A USEFUL AND ATTRACTIVE CALLING.

ANSTEY COLLEGE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING AND HYGIENE, ERDINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE, offers a full professional training in the following subjects: Swedish Educational and Medical Gymnastics, Aesthetic Dancing, Folk Dancing, Swimming, Games, Anatomy, Hygiene, &c.
Good Posts Obtained after Training.

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IF You wish to Remove, Store, or Dispose of anything, send postcard or ring up Gerrard 9188 for The London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C., for price and advice, free of charge. Dry rooms, extensive warehouses.

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MORA PUCKLE (late of Baker Street) has removed to 389, Oxford Street (opposite *Times* Book Club). Modern artistic dresses, coat, and djibbahs. Prices moderate. Entrance Gilbert Street.

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A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collection; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

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LADIES, why have your Linen Laundered in London when for the same prices it can be done at an ideal country laundry? Abundance of water and large drying green; returned early, correctly, and to time.—Sunnyside Laundry, Stevenage, Herts.

MISS WOOD wishes to recommend her French laundress; fine lingerie a spécialité.—French Laundry, 194, Elthorne Road, Hornsey Rise, N.; and 10a, Cambridge Place, Paddington, W.

THE NEW GROSVENOR LAUNDRY, 55, Strafford Road, South Acton, W., undertake family work only; flannels washed in distilled water; open-air drying ground; highest class work at moderate prices. Telephone 10 Chiswick.

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DAINTY AFTERNOON TEA CAKES. Try our 1s. 6d. box. Carriage paid, carefully packed. Cash with order.—James Strachan, High Street, Forres, Scotland.

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BONELESS CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free. — Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

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